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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION,

BY
EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

Κτήμα' ἐς αἰί. THUCYD.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat. CICERO.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

TO WHICH IS ADDED
AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE AFFAIRS OF IRELAND,
BY
EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

A NEW EDITION,
EXHIBITING A FAITHFUL COLLATION OF THE ORIGINAL MS.,
WITH ALL THE SUPPRESSED PASSAGES;

ALSO
THE UNPUBLISHED NOTES OF BISHOP WARBURTON.

VOL. VIII.

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A SHORT VIEW

OF THE

STATE AND CONDITION

OF

IRELAND.

JER. ii. 14, 15, 16, 17.

Is Israel a servant? is he a homeborn slave? why is he spoiled?

The young lions roared upon him, and yelled, and they made his land waste: his cities are burned without inhabitant.

Also the children of Noph and Tahapanes have broken the crown of thy head.

Hast thou not procured this unto thyself, in that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, when he led thee by the way?

I WILL speak that I may be refreshed, saith the wisest and least faulty of Job's friends, when he was wearied and tired with the impertinence and insolence of the others; *Eloquar ut respiratio sit mihi*, saith our Latin translation, I will speak that I may breathe. It is a very great pain to hear men speak ignorantly, and impertinently, and wickedly, and not to have liberty to control or disprove them; no suffocation can be more unpleasant than such a forced silence; to hear virtuous and worthy actions declaimed and inveighed against, and virtuous and

The preface
of the au-
thor.
Job xxxii.
20.

VOL. VIII.

B

worthy men censured, traduced, and reproached for doing what they ought, and by their duty are obliged to do, whilst unlawful and sinful actions are justified or commended, and their abettors magnified and extolled; and not to reply to those malicious discourses: to be forced to hear our natural sovereign (an innocent and pious prince) slandered and accused with reproaches, calumnies, lies, and aspersions, notoriously false, and easy to be made to appear to be so, and to keep silence: to see and hear God himself profaned and blasphemed, his omnipotence questioned and slighted, his justice disputed, and his anger derided: to hear murder, treason, and rebellion vindicated and maintained, as committed and propagated by the infusion and direction of his Spirit, and his blessed name invoked and challenged for defence and support of such a mass of wickedness, and not to open a man's mouth against the horrid blasphemy, is not only more vexation, grief, and torment of mind, but really more sharp, sensible, and piercing pain to the inward and nobler parts of a wise and honest man, than what the outward limbs are subject to by the gout, toothach, or rack itself. Never age subjected men to this kind of trouble and pain more than the present; when, to the persecution that good men undergo in the loss of their fortunes and lives, in their banishment from their friends, their families, and their country, and the wants and necessities which naturally attend that sad condition, this circumstance is added, (a circumstance which most persecutions have been without,) that they are pursued with reproaches of not having done their parts in resisting the rude torrent which hath overborne them, (when they bear

all the honourable marks of doing and suffering,) oftentimes with calumpnies of a baser allay, of complying with the public enemies, when (next to the public) their particular merit and virtue have been with the greatest envy, malice, and fury, detested and persecuted by those enemies, and with such other scandals and unworthy aspersions, as may alienate the affections of the beholders, and deprive them of that compassion, honour, and justice, which is due from all the world to their courage, wisdom, and integrity. And this kind of effeminate distemper too often rages in the breasts of those who come, in some degree, to be joint-sufferers with the other in the common calamities; who, having been originally guilty of making those breaches, at which greater, or, rather, other wickedness hath broken in, than they, it may be, at first intended, instead of acknowledging their own folly and madness, labour rather to traduce those who hindered them from prevailing, than to oppose the other who prevailed further than they desired they should have done.

There needs no other instance, how many more soever may be given, of this petulant and unchristian humour, than the licence which hath been and still is taken, by some of the Romish clergy of the Irish nation, (in some printed pamphlets, whereby they would move the Christian world to take compassion on them,) to lay aspersions and unworthy imputations upon the king, who is in heaven, who used all imaginable princely endeavours to have reduced and preserved them, after they had most rebelliously provoked him, and upon his majesty that now is, (whose faithful subjects they seem to desire

The occasion of this treatise.

to be thought and accounted,) and upon the marquis of Ormond, the king's lieutenant of that kingdom, who (having served their majesties with the greatest courage and magnanimity, and upon the most abstracted considerations of honour and conscience, and thereby struck so great a reverence of his virtues, even into his enemies, that though they hated and feared him most, yet they have never reproached or reviled him) is now forced, by some unquiet and unworthy spirits of his own country, to undergo those *flagella linguæ*, the strokes of the tongue, from which only the omnipotence of Almighty God himself can hide and preserve the most upright and most excellent persons: and though the old receipt and prescription of *spretæ exolescunt*, may to many seem fit to be applied to these odious ebullitions, and that to take the least notice of such lewd discourses (which flow from no other fountain but that of malice and ignorance) is to do them too much credit; yet, since the judgment of the most upright and wisest men may be corrupted by the mistaking matters of fact, and since the titular bishop of Ferns (for it will be no presumption to say, though the pope may make bishops, he cannot dispose of bishoprics within the king of Great Britain's dominions) hath thought fit to publish a little book in his own name, and industriously to disperse the same into all parts, and among such persons who can be presumed to know little of the affairs of Ireland, otherwise than they are informed; and in that book to lay many reproaches upon his own lawful sovereign, and most untruly to traduce the person of the lord lieutenant of that kingdom, the marquis of Ormond, (whom his lordship ought not to mention without reverence,)

and in that manner as if he were the mouth, and spake the words of that whole nation: I have not only thought it a debt to truth and justice, but a respect to that unhappy and oppressed nation, (of which very many noble persons have behaved themselves with notable fidelity to their prince,) and even an act of charity to the Roman catholic faith, (which may undergo some scandal from the licence and distemper of such discourses,) to endeavour to preserve the minds of men from being wrought upon by those infusions, and corrupted by those misinformations.

For the better doing whereof, it will be necessary to take a brief view of the true state and condition of the kingdom of Ireland, before the year 1640, and of those material passages which since that time have, in the opinion of the bishop, or in truth, contributed to the full calamity which it now undergoes, by which it will be easily discerned where the fault hath been, and from whence the misfortune hath proceeded. In doing whereof, I shall allege no matter of fact, of which there is not unquestionable evidence, nor make any deductions or conclusions which do not naturally result from those actions, leaving the history of the memorable acts which have passed on either side, in the managery of that war, to those who have better means and skill to compose the same, having in truth no other end in this work, than to vindicate the most entire persons from the most unreasonable calumnies; to undeceive those who are imposed upon by untruths, and (if it be possible) yet to incline the deceivers to those ingenuous and Christian courses which can best advance their own pretensions and real interest. It is not the bishop's calling the ten years' war in Ire-

The happy
condition
of Ireland
before the
year 1640.

land, *sanctum justissimumque bellum*, nor his saying that they have undergone the most constant and severe persecution for their profession of the catholic religion for the space of one hundred and thirty years, that can make the happy and blessed condition forgotten, which that nation was possessed of before their own (to say no worse) unskilful rage and fury brought this war upon them. They have now leisure enough, and I hope spirits better prepared, to revolve the wonderful plenty, peace, and security they enjoyed till the year 1641, when they wantonly and disdainfully flung those blessings from them; the increase of traffic, the improvement of land, the erection of buildings, and whatsoever else might be profitable and pleasant to a people, which were advantages and ornaments that the policy and industry of that nation was utterly unacquainted with, till they were acquired by the skill and labour of the English, planted, and living charitably, friendly, and hospitably among them: taxes, tallages, and contributions, were things hardly known to them by their names: whatever their land, labour, or industry produced, was their own; being not only free from the fear of having it taken from them by the king, upon any pretence whatsoever, without their own consent, but also so secured against thieves and robbers, by due execution of good laws, that men might and did travel over all the parts of the kingdom with great sums of money, unguarded and unconcealed. If this precious state of affairs be or was undervalued, under the notion of being but temporal blessings, and the want of freedom alleged in the exercise of the Romish religion, to which that nation was generally addicted, it cannot be denied,

that (though by the laws and constitution of that kingdom the power and authority of the bishop of Rome is not in any degree allowed or submitted unto) the whole nation enjoyed an undisturbed exercise of their religion, and even in Dublin (where the seat of the king's chief governor was) they went as publicly and uninterruptedly to their devotions, as he went to his: bishops, priests, and all degrees and orders of the secular and regular clergy, were known to live, and exercise their functions amongst them; and though there were some laws against them still in force, which necessity, and the wisdom of former ages, had caused to be enacted, to suppress those acts of treason and rebellion which that people frequently then fell into, and the policy of the present times kept unrepealed, to prevent the like distempers and designs; yet the edge of those laws was so totally abated by the clemency and compassion of the king, that no man could say he had suffered prejudice or disturbance in or for his religion; which is another kind of indulgence than the subjects professing a faith contrary to what is established by the law of the land can boast of, in any other kingdom of the world. In this blessed condition of peace and security, the English and Irish, the protestants and the Roman catholics, lived mingled together in all the provinces of the kingdom, quietly trafficking with one another during the whole happy reign of king James; and from his death, every degree of their happiness was increased and improved under the government of his late majesty, as long as they contained themselves within the bounds of duty and allegiance towards him. The wealth of the kingdom was exceedingly in-

creased by the importation of great store of money thither, and a wonderful increase of trade; several new and profitable manufactories were introduced and erected, whereby the inhabitants were set on work, and the land generally improved, by applying it to several sorts of good husbandry, which that people had been utterly unacquainted with. Roman catholic landlords had protestant tenants, and many protestant landlords Roman catholic tenants. Friendships, nay marriages, were very frequently contracted between them, and all passion, at least all visible animosities, which flow from the differences of those professions, laid aside or suppressed, till, in the year 1640, when they discerned some distempers arising in England upon the Scots invasion, and the support and countenance that people found in both houses of parliament, they would likewise bear their part, and bring in their contribution to the work in hand. Then they began to transplant those humours of jealousy and discontent, which they found springing up seditiously in the parliament at Westminster, into Ireland; and, with the same passion and distemper, cherished them in the other at Dublin. So they accused, upon general and unreasonable imputations, the principal counselors and ministers of state, who were intrusted by the crown in that kingdom, of high treason; and thereby, according to the rule then unjustly prescribed at Westminster, removed them from any power over the affairs there, whose wisdom might probably else have prevented the mischiefs which have since ensued. Then they childishly concurred with the greatest enemies their nation or religion had, in the conspiracy against the life of the earl of

The seeds
of the civil
war in Ire-
land.

Strafford, lord lieutenant of that kingdom, by whose wisdom and government that kingdom had reaped great advantages, and was daily receiving greater, and sent a committee from Dublin to Westminster, to join in prosecution of him; and having in the end procured the miserable (and never to be enough lamented) ruin of that great person, they powerfully opposed and hindered the conferring of that charge upon any of those his majesty had designed it to, and got it devolved into such hands as were most unlike to grapple with the difficulties they were sure to meet with; and having thus, to their utmost power, fomented the divisions in England, and discountenanced and weakened the royal power in Ireland, by raising the same factions against it there, on a sudden, upon the 23d day of October, according to that computation, in the year of our Lord 1641, without the least pretence of a quarrel or hostility so much as apprehended by the protestants, great multitudes of Irish Roman catholics in the province of Ulster, and shortly after in other provinces and parts of the kingdom, tumultuously assembled together, put themselves in arms, seized upon the towns, castles, and houses belonging to protestants, which by their force they could possess themselves of, and with most barbarous circumstances of cruelty, within the space of less than ten days, murdered an incredible number of protestants, men, women, and children promiscuously, and without distinction of age or sex. Of all those who were within the reach of their power, they who escaped best were robbed of all they had to their very skins, and so turned naked to endure the sharpness of that season; and by that means, and for want of relief,

The massacre.

many thousands of them perished by hunger and cold. The design which at the same time was laid for the surprise of the castle of Dublin (the residence of the king's chief governor, and his majesty's principal magazine of arms and ammunition, wherewith it was then plentifully stored) being discovered by a person trusted, and thereby disappointed, that place was left securely to consult of the best means to oppose that torrent which was like to overwhelm the kingdom; and for a refuge to the poor protestants, who from all parts of the kingdom flocked thither, despoiled, robbed, and stripped, with the sad relation of the most inhuman cruelties and murders exercised upon their friends, kindred, and neighbours, which have ever been heard of among Christians; and in this manner, and with these circumstances, began that war which the bishop of Ferns calls most just and holy.

The Irish
not generally
concerned in
it.

It is not the purpose of this discourse to lay the imputation of this rebellion and savage cruelty upon all the Irish nation, and the catholics of that kingdom, of whom many persons of honour were never in the least degree tainted with that corruption; but, on the contrary, have always given as signal testimonies of their affection and duty to the king, and of their detestation of that odious and bloody defection, as any of his subjects of either of his majesty's other kingdoms have done, and whose memories must with equal justice and care be transmitted to posterity, as precious examples of honour and integrity. Others were, by the passion and rigour of those who were then in authority, (and had power enough to destroy whom they had inclination to suspect or accuse,) driven to put themselves into the

protection of those whose ways and courses they totally disapproved; and many, who were by misinformation and misbelief engaged in the carrying on, and possibly in the contriving of the war and insurrection, were enemies to those actions of bloody rapine and inhumanity which dishonour any war, and grew quickly willing to repair the breaches they had made, and to return to that duty which they had violated: but it is neither impertinent nor uncharitable to beseech those of that nation, whether clergy or laity, who, in respect of the present weight of calamities, under which they are oppressed, may be worthy of compassion, to remember, that, though they now continue this war with innocence and justice, they first entered into it with extreme guilt, and prosecuted it with extreme and unnecessary cruelty; and that though they now lawfully defend themselves, their country, and their king against the worst and most merciless of tyrants, they had never been driven to these exigencies, or undergone these devouring afflictions, if they had not first unreasonably and wickedly rebelled against the best and most merciful of kings: and their bewailing and heartily lamenting that first transgression, is like to be the most Christian and the most catholic expedient to persuade God Almighty to protect and relieve them in their present sufferings and intolerable pressures; and the contrary and most unprelatical temper, the defending and justifying the war from the beginning to be most just and holy, and that most horrible rage and fury in the prosecution of it to be the pious means of upholding and carrying on that most just and holy war, may probably indispose that Pro-

vidence from taking any pity on them, or preserving them from a total extirpation.

A foul stratagem of the Irish.

One circumstance of unhappy and impious policy must not be forgotten, by which the bold authors of that unnatural war, in the first entrance into it, promised to themselves notable advantages; and which in truth (as most of the policy of that kind usually is turned to the ruin of the politician) brought unspeakable misery and devastation upon that whole country and nation. For the better inducing the people, (who, having lived long in peace and amity with the English, were not without some reverence to that government, and so could not in plain and direct terms be easily led into an avowed rebellion against their king,) they not only declared, and with great skill and industry published throughout the kingdom, that they took arms for the king, and defence of his lawful prerogative, against the puritanical parliament of England, which, they said, invaded it in many parts; but that what they did was by his majesty's consent, approbation, and authority; and to that purpose produced and shewed a commission, to which they had fixed an impression of the great seal of England, which they had taken off from some grant or patent which had regularly and legally passed; and so it was not hard to persuade weak and unexperienced persons to believe, that it was a true and real commission from the king: and by this foul stratagem they cast so odious an imputation upon the king, and upon those persons who were worthily nearest his affections and counsels, (that seditious party in England, who were then contriving all the mischief they have since brought

The fatal consequences of it.

to pass, using all their arts to propagate those horrible calumnies, and to infuse into the hearts of the people an irreverence and jealousy of the king, queen, and those of nearest trust to either of them,) that his majesty was even compelled, for his own vindication, and lest he might be thought too faint a prosecutor of an enemy, whose insurrections it was said himself had fomented, to commit the whole management of that war to his two houses of parliament, who again interested and intrusted such members of their own body with the ordering and directing of the same, as were resolved, with most passion, uncharitableness, and violence, to prosecute that whole nation, and that religion that was most generally exercised there. Thus were all the persons, that were to conduct both the civil and martial affairs in Ireland, drawn to a dependance upon the two houses of parliament at Westminster; all the officers and commanders for that war nominated or approved by them; all money raised for that service issued and disposed only by their orders: and, by these means, they, who craftily intended to draw a support and countenance to themselves by using the king's name to purposes he abhorred, sottishly defrauded and deprived themselves of that protection and mercy, which his majesty would willingly have vouchsafed to them for their reduction and preservation. For, from this time, when any thing was proposed of extravagancy or overmuch rigour, which the proposers said was necessary for the carrying on that war, if the king made any scruple or pause in giving his consent to the same, they straight declared they were obstructed in sending relief to the poor protestants of Ire-

land, and then published some particular relations of the lamentable and inhuman massacres made there by the Irish, which were confirmed by multitudes of miserable undone people, who landed from thence in the several parts of England; who likewise reported the rebels' discourses, of executing all by the king's direction: so that indeed it was not in his power to deny any thing which they thought fit to say was necessary to the good work in hand. Thus he was compelled to put all the strong holds, towns, and castles in the province of Ulster, into the possession of the Scots, who were at that time, by the great managers, believed to be more worthy to be trusted than the English, with unusual circumstances of power, and even a kind of independency upon the lord lieutenant of Ireland; and when his majesty desired them to reconsider their own propositions, and reflect how much it might trench upon the English interest, they furiously voted, that whosoever advised his majesty to that delay, was an enemy to the kingdom, and a promoter of the rebellion in Ireland. Thus his majesty was necessitated to consent to that bill, by which too great a latitude is given for the disposal of lands, in the several provinces of that kingdom, to those who have adventured money in the war; and which, without the interposition, shelter, and mercy of the sovereign power, would give up almost all that whole people and their fortunes to the disposal of their cruel enemies. And lastly, by this groundless and accursed calumny, thus raised upon the king, full power was devolved into their hands, who too much imitated the fury and inhumanity of the Irish in the carrying on the war, and proceeded with such rigour and

cruelty in the shedding of blood, as was most detested by his majesty's gracious and merciful disposition.

When the rebellion broke out in England, and the king was thereby compelled to take up arms for his own defence, and had seen the men and money, raised by his authority for the relief of Ireland, employed by his English rebels against himself, and so his protestant subjects in that kingdom, upon the matter, deserted, or at least unprovided for; and the strength and power of the Roman catholics increasing, and every day improved by assistance and aid from abroad; his majesty believed they had made the worst use of all the slanders and reproaches which were raised against him, and began to interpose his own royal authority a little more than he could formerly do, in managing the affairs of Ireland, and made such an alteration in the government there, by removing one of the lord justices, who was most addicted to the English rebels, and most applicable to their ends, and putting a moderate and discreet person in the place, that his majesty's honour and commands, and the public interest of the kingdom, were more regarded, and the power which the English parliament had unreasonably assumed there, less considered. His majesty likewise granted more absolute power and jurisdiction in military affairs to the marquis of Ormond than he had before, well knowing, that as he was a person of the most ancient honour, and the greatest and noblest fortune within that kingdom, and of a very signal affection to the crown, upon the most abstracted considerations of conscience, duty, and integrity; so that being of that nation, and too much

The cruel
prosecution
of the war
by the par-
liament.

The gentle
methods
taken by
his majesty.

concerned in their peace and happiness to wish an extirpation of it, he would carry on the war with less unnecessary severity and devastation, than had been used; which was like to prove the most effectual way to purge that people from the despair they had swallowed, and dispose them to return to their duty and allegiance. And it will not be denied, that from this time, (however the Irish were defeated always in battle, as often as they encountered with the marquis, and such execution was then taken, as, in the heat and unruliness of those contentions, cannot be prevented,) there was never any foul act done by the English, or greater rigour used than was necessary to the work in hand; no retaliation of former outrages, but quarter given when desired; and all articles, consented to by the marquis or his officers, punctually observed and performed to the nation; and the war, in all considerations, prosecuted by the same rules, and with the same temper, as if it had been against an equal enemy, who could have justified the entering into it.

The courage and
conduct of
the marquis
of Ormond.

And here it must be observed, that how cheap soever the marquis is now grown in the opinion of the bishop, as a soldier and a general in war; and how much soever the bishop is pleased to reproach his inactivity against the enemy, during the whole time that he alone ordered and conducted the war against the Roman catholics, on the behalf of his majesty; his unwearied vigilance and industry, in quick, painful, and sudden marches; his sharp and successful counsel in designs, and his undaunted courage in execution, was very grievous and formidable to them: how many of their towns, castles, and forts did he take from them with a handful of

men? When did they appear before him in the field, though with numbers much superior to his, that they were not defeated, routed, and disbanded? Let them remember the battle at Kilrush, in April, 1642, when, being double the number of the marquis, they thought without difficulty to have cut off his army, which was then tired and harassed with long marches, and want of all kind of provisions; but, upon the encounter, the Irish were quickly subdued, slain, and put to flight, with the loss of their baggage and ammunition. Witness that famous battle near Rosse, when general Preston led an army of above six thousand foot and eight hundred horse against the marquis, who had not two thousand two hundred foot, nor five hundred horse; and where, by the advantage of the ground, and other accidents, the Irish horse had routed the English, and driven them from the field: at the sight whereof the small body of foot were even appalled and dismayed, when the marquis put himself in the head of his shaken and disheartened infantry, and, by his sole resolution and virtue, inflamed them with shame and courage, and led them against their proud and insulting enemy; and after a sharp encounter and slaughter of as many as had courage to make opposition, put the rest to flight, and pursued them to the bogs and fastnesses, more terrified and confounded with his single name, than the power that assisted him.

Whilst the marquis had officers and soldiers that would obey and follow him, he found no enemy could withstand him; without those, nor Hannibal, Scipio, nor Cæsar, ever obtained victory. When, by these continual successes, the wild distemper of

The Irish
petition for
a treaty.

A cessation
agreed to.

the Irish began to be abated; and they who had been carried along with the popular stream, without any power to resist the torrent, had now opportunity to revolve what they had done, and the consequence that must necessarily attend such transactions: they thought an humble address to him whom they had offended to be a more natural way to peace and happiness than the prosecution of the war, which had been attended with so much mischief, and accordingly professed a desire to be admitted to petition the king; in which they found such encouragement, that, upon that their first declaration, a commission was sent by his majesty to the marquis of Ormond and others, to receive any such petition; which likewise was no sooner transmitted to him, than another commission under the great seal of Ireland was granted to treat with the Roman catholic Irish, in order to a cessation of arms; that so, upon the intermission of those acts of blood and outrage, and a more charitable communication of each other's grievances, the foundation for a happy peace might be temperately and maturely weighed and considered: and hereupon that cessation of arms was agreed upon for the space of one year, so much to the advantage and benefit of the Roman catholics.

What scandals, reproaches, and real damages the marquis underwent by his being charitably inclined to that cessation, and desiring to prevent those calamities which he wisely foresaw must be the portion of that nation, if they did not speedily return to their allegiance and loyalty, wise men knew, who were acquainted with the humour and spirit of that time, and the universal prejudice the two kingdoms

of England and Scotland had contracted against the Roman catholics of Ireland, for the damage they had sustained, and the rapine and cruelty which had been perpetrated by the first authors of the rebellion, insomuch as a more ungracious and unpopular inclination could not be discovered in any man, than a wish or consent that that war (from which so many men promised themselves revenge and fortunes) should be any other way extinguished, than with the blood and confiscation of all those whom they would pronounce to be guilty of the defection. And if the marquis hath not found a due retribution of thanks and acknowledgment from the whole nation, for giving them that opportunity to have made themselves happy, (so signally to his own disadvantage,) it must be imputed to the want of understanding, discretion, and gratitude, in which too many of that people have abounded.

Shortly after the cessation was made, the confederate catholics sent certain commissioners, authorized by them, to attend his majesty at Oxford, with such desires and propositions, as made too lively a representation how incompetent considerers they were of the way to their own repose and happiness; and how unlikely they were to prevent the destroying calamities that hung over their heads, and so closely pursued them. And, at the same time, as long as that treaty lasted, the king was likewise attended by a committee sent by the council board of that kingdom, to inform his majesty of all matters of fact which had passed, and of the laws and customs there, which might be necessary to be well weighed, upon what the catholics should demand or propose: and by another committee, who were de-

puted by a parliament then sitting at Dublin, to solicit his majesty in behalf of his protestant subjects of that kingdom; and that nothing might be granted in that treaty to the prejudice of their interest and security.

The high
demands of
the Roman-
ists.

The catholics, as men which thought themselves possessed of the whole strength and power of the kingdom, and the king's condition in England so weak, as he would buy their assistance at any rate, demanded upon the matter the total alteration of government both in church and state: the very form of making and enacting laws, which is the foundation of government, and which had been practised ever since the reign of Henry the Seventh, must be abolished, and, instead of liberty and toleration of the exercise of the Roman religion, they insisted upon such privileges, immunities, and power, as would have amounted at best but to a toleration of the protestant religion; and that no longer than they should think fit to consent to it. On the other hand, the committee of parliament, as men who too much felt the smart and anguish of their late sufferings, and undervalued and contemned the catholic Irish, as inferior to them in courage and conduct, and as possessed of much greater power by the cessation than they could retain in a war, very earnestly pressed the execution of the present laws in force, reparation for the damages they had sustained, and disarming the Irish in such manner, and to such a degree, as it might not be hereafter in their power to do more mischief; and such other conditions, as people who are able to contend are not usually persuaded to submit unto. In these so different and distant applications, they who were

sent as moderate men from the council knew not how to behave themselves; but enough discovered, that they had not the confidence in the Irish, as to be willing they should be so far trusted, that the performance of their duty should depend only upon their affections and allegiance, but that there should be greater restraint on them than they were inclined to admit; otherwise, that the protestant religion and the English interest would be sooner rooted out by the peace they proposed, than it could be by a war.

It is very true, that the commissioners for the confederate catholics demeaned themselves to his majesty with a great show of modesty and duty, and confessed that they believed the demands they were enjoined to insist on were such as his majesty could not consent unto; and that the present condition of his affairs was not so well understood by them, or by those that sent them, before their coming out of Ireland, as it now was; which if it had been, they were confident they should have had such instructions as would have better complied with their own desires and his majesty's occasions: and therefore frankly offered to return, and use their utmost endeavours to incline the confederate council, whose deputies they were, and who then exercised the supreme power over the confederate catholics of Ireland, to more moderation, and to return to their full submission and obedience to his majesty, upon such conditions as his goodness would consent unto for their security.

Hereupon the king sent his command to the marquis of Ormond, whom he had now made lord lieutenant of that kingdom, to renew and continue their

The cessation continued.

His majesty's good advice to the catholic commissioners.

cessation for another year; and likewise a commission under the great seal of England, to make a full peace with his catholic subjects, upon such conditions as he found agreeable to the public good and welfare, and as might produce such a peace and union in that kingdom, that it might assist his majesty for the vindication of his royal power, and suppressing the rebels in England and Scotland: and so his majesty dismissed the catholic commissioners with demonstration of much grace and confidence in them; and with this good counsel, which he most pathetically poured out to them at their departure, that they should remember, “that the
 “preservation of their nation, and the religion
 “which they professed, and were so zealous for in
 “Ireland, depended upon the preservation of his
 “just rights and authority in England. That they
 “saw his subjects in Scotland (contrary to all their
 “obligations) had invaded England, and joined with
 “the rebels against him, who without that assistance
 “would have been speedily reduced to their
 “obedience: and therefore, if his catholic subjects
 “of Ireland made haste, upon such conditions as he
 “might then grant, without prejudice to himself,
 “and which should be amply sufficient for the security
 “of their fortunes, lives, and exercise of that
 “religion, to assist him, whereby he might be enabled,
 “by God’s blessing, to suppress that rebellion,
 “they might confidently believe he would never forget
 “to whose merits he owed his preservation and
 “restoration; and that it would then be in his absolute
 “power to vouchsafe grace unto them to complete
 “their happiness, and which he gave them his
 “royal word he would then dispense in such man-

“ner as should not leave them disappointed of any
“of their just and full expectations: but if, by in-
“sisting on such particulars as he could not in con-
“science consent to, and their conscience obliged
“them not to ask, or on such, as though he could
“himself be content to yield to, yet in that con-
“juncture of time would bring so great a damage
“to him, that all the supplies they could give or
“send could not countervail, and might as bene-
“ficially be granted to them hereafter, when he
“might better do it; if they should delay their
“joining with him, and so look on till the rebels’
“power prevailed against him in England and
“Scotland, and suppressed his party in those king-
“doms, it would then be too late for them to give
“him help, and they would quickly find their
“strength in Ireland but an imaginary support for
“his or their own interest; and that they, who
“with much difficulty had destroyed him, would,
“without any considerable opposition, ruin their in-
“terest, and root out their religion and their na-
“tion from all the dominions which should be sub-
“jected to their exorbitant jurisdiction.” How
much of this hath proved a prophecy, their sad ex-
perience knows, and the world cannot but take no-
tice of.

When the commissioners returned into Ireland, most of them performed their promises and engagements to the king very faithfully; and by the informations they gave to the supreme council, and by their counsel, interest, and advice, they prevailed so far, that the nobility, gentry, and all men of considerable fortunes, with such of the secular and regular clergy, who were most eminent for piety and

the practice of religious duties, were convinced of the necessity of submitting themselves entirely to the king, upon such terms, for the present, as his majesty had graciously offered their commissioners, and upon the confidence of other graces when he might more seasonably vouchsafe them; and that no time should be lost in perfecting the pacification, and in proceeding most effectually towards their assisting the king in England: but the evil genius of that people quickly banished this blessed temper, and manifested to the world how unripe they were for that blessing. They who valued themselves upon their interest and dependences, and whose credit and reputation had corrupted multitudes to swerve from their public duty to their king, out of their private devotion and submission to them, found it now a more easy matter to pervert and mislead popular affections, than to reduce them; and that they could no more allay the spirits they had conjured up, than they could command the seas or the wind. The nobility, and men of known fortunes, had lost their power; and the most factious, ignorant, and violent part of the clergy had such an influence upon the common people, that they only obeyed their dictates, and with them only opposed all those conclusions, which, according to wisdom and true policy, were to be the ingredients of a happy and lasting peace: and so above two years were spent, after the commissioners departed from the king, in fruitless and ineffectual treaties, whilst the strength and power of the rebels in England exceedingly increased, and his majesty's forces were defeated; and himself, for want of the succour he expected, and which he was promised out of Ire-

The treaty
ineffectual.

The ruin of
his majesty
and his
kingdoms.

land, was compelled to deliver himself up to his Scottish subjects, and was shortly after by them delivered to the rebels of England, by whom he was in the end, with all those circumstances of horror and barbarity, murdered in the sight of the sun.

After all these unhappy and pernicious delays, the general assembly of the confederate catholics, which consisted of all the peers of that party, of all the bishops, and of the gentlemen and burgesses of corporation towns, (which was as lively a representation of the whole nation as they could make,) towards the end of the year 1645, appointed and authorized a select number of that body of persons of eminent quality and the most eminent abilities, and such as throughout all the troubles had been employed and intrusted by them in places and offices of the highest trust and concernment, to treat and conclude with the marquis of Ormond, his majesty's lieutenant of that kingdom, a firm and full peace; whereupon all the particulars which might concern the interest and the security of either party being maturely weighed and considered, and then every article being first read, debated, and approved in the general assembly; without one dissenting voice, the whole was concluded, and the confederate catholics obliged to transport within a very short time an army of ten thousand men into England, for the service and relief of the king: and, all things thus stated and settled, the commissioners who had treated the peace were sent, by and in the name of the assembly, to Dublin, where the lord lieutenant resided, to sign the said articles, and to receive his lordship's confirmation of them: and accordingly the articles were there, in the beginning of the year 1646, inter-

An assembly of the confederate catholics in the year 1645.

Appoint commissioners for a new treaty.

Articles signed.

changeably signed and perfected, with all the formalities requisite; and shortly after were, with all solemnity and ceremony, published and proclaimed by the king at arms at Dublin and at Kilkenny, where the supreme council and the assembly of all the confederate catholics were held, and then printed by their authority; the archbishop of Firmo, then the pope's nuncio, with the catholics in Ireland, manifesting his approbation of all that had been done, by giving his blessing to the commissioners when they were sent to Dublin to conclude the treaty; and other ministers from foreign princes being present, consenting to, and witnessing the conclusion: so that the marquis, having performed all on his part that could be expected from him, or was in his power to do, and having received from the other party all the assurance he could require, there being no other way of engaging the public faith of the nation, than that to which they had so formally engaged themselves to him, intended nothing but how his majesty might speedily receive some fruit of that peace and accommodation, by sending some assistance to him; and to that purpose, with the advice, and upon the invitation of several persons who had great authority and power amongst the confederate catholics, he took a journey himself to Kilkenny, where he was received with that respect and reverence which was due to his person, and to the place he held, and with such expressions of triumph and joy, as gave him cause to believe the people were glad again to be received into his majesty's protection. But this sunshine of hope and union quickly vanished, and the old clouds of jealousy and sedition began again to cover the land. The pope's nuncio, and the titular

The mar-
quis invited
to Kil-
kenny.

bishops who depended on him, envied that nation the happiness and glory they foresaw it would be possessed of by the execution of that agreement; and so, without any colour of authority, either by the old established laws of that kingdom, or those new rules which they had prescribed to themselves since the rebellion, they convened a congregation of the clergy at Waterford, (a town most at their devotion,) where this titular bishop of Ferns was in the chair, and presided: and therefore it will not be amiss to take a short view of their proceedings, that the unhappy, oppressed, miserable people of Ireland may clearly discern to whom they owe those pressures and calamities they are now overwhelmed with; and whether that bishop is to be reckoned in the number of those who suffer at present for their zeal to religion, their allegiance to the king, and affection to their country; or whether his name is to be enrolled in the catalogue which must derive to posterity the authors and fomenters of so odious and causeless a rebellion, in which such a sea of blood hath been let out, and the betrayers of the honour and faith of the country and nation, and who are no less guilty of the extirpation of religion in that catholic kingdom, than Ireton or Cromwell, or that impious power under which they have perpetrated all their acts of blood, cruelty, and desolation.

- This congregation of the clergy were no sooner assembled, than (instead of prescribing acts of humiliation and repentance to the people, for the ills they had formerly done, and of inflaming their hearts with new zeal, and infusing a pious courage into them, to relieve and succour the king from those rebels that opposed him, according to their particular obligation

Consequences of the treaty obstructed by the Irish clergy.

Proceedings of their assembly at Waterford.

Which occasioned popular tumults, particularly in Limerick.

Where the magistrates are displaced.

by their late agreement, which had been the proper office of prelates and a Christian clergy) they began to inveigh against the peace, which themselves had so lately approved, and so formally consented to, as if it had not carefully enough provided for the advancement of religion; would not suffer it to be proclaimed at Waterford; and sent their emissaries and their orders to all the considerable towns and cities, to incense the people against it, and against those who wished it should take effect: insomuch that, when the king at arms was proclaiming the peace at Limerick, with that solemnity and ceremony as in such cases is used throughout the world, with his coat of arms, the ensign of his office upon him, and accompanied with the mayor^a and aldermen, and the most substantial of the citizens in their robes, and with all the ensigns of magistracy and authority, one Maleife^b, a seditious friar, stirred up the multitude against them, which being led on by one Fanning, a person notorious for many outrages and acts of blood and inhumanity in the beginning of the rebellion, violently assaulted them; and, after many opprobrious speeches, in contempt of the peace and the authority of the king, and tearing off the coat from the herald, beat and wounded him and many of the magistrates of the city, and some of them almost to death. And, lest all this might be excused, and charitably interpreted to be the effect of a popular and tumultuous insurrection, the lawful mayor, and the other principal officers who assisted him in the discharge of his duty, were immediately dis-

^a In the margin is written, Boorke the mayor.

^b In the MS. Wolfe.

placed, and Fanning, the infamous conductor of that rabble, made mayor in his place; who, by letters from the nuncio, was thanked for what he had done, encouraged to proceed in the same way, and had the apostolical benediction bestowed on him for committing such an outrage on the privileged person of an herald, who, in the name of the king, came to proclaim the peace, as by the law of nations must have been adjudged barbarous and unpardonable, in any part of the world where civility is planted, if he had come to have denounced war: and yet all this while the design itself was carried on with so great secrecy, that the lord lieutenant (proceeding in his progress for the settling and composing the humours of the people, which he understood to have been in some disorder by the infusions of the ill affected clergy) never heard of any force of arms to second and support these mutinous disorders, till, being near the city of Cashel, he was advertised, by a letter from the mayor, that Owen O'Neal's army was marching that way, and had sent terrible threats to that city, if it presumed to receive the lord lieutenant: and shortly after he found, that Owen O'Neal used all possible expedition to get between him and Dublin, that so he might have been able to have surprised and destroyed him. Whereupon the marquis found it necessary to lose no time in returning thither; yet resolved not only to contain himself from any act of hostility, but even from those trespasses which are hardly avoided upon marches; and so paid punctually for whatsoever was taken from the inhabitants throughout all the catholic quarters, presuming that those persons of honour, who had transacted the treaty, would have been able to have

These disorders supported by an army under Owen O'Neal. Who endeavours to surprise the marquis.

caused that peace to be observed in despite of these clamorous undertakers.

The assembly at Waterford declares the peace void.

When the unchristian congregation at Waterford had made this essay of their power and jurisdiction, they made all possible haste to propagate their authority, and declared the peace to be void, and inhibited all persons to submit thereto, or to pay any taxes, impositions, or contributions, which had been settled by the said agreement; and without which neither a standing army (which was to be applied to the reduction of those towns and provinces which had put themselves under the protection of the rebels of England, and neither submitted to the former cessation, nor would be comprehended in the peace) could be supported, nor the ten thousand men could be raised to be transported into England for the succour of the king, as had been so religiously undertaken. Which injunction of theirs the people too readily obeyed and submitted unto.

The nuncio assumes the supreme power.

Then they committed and delegated the entire and absolute power of governing and commanding, as well in secular as ecclesiastical matters, to the pope's nuncio, who began his empire with committing to prison the commissioners who had been instrumental in the treaty, and making of the peace by order of the general assembly, and issued out an excommunication against all those who had or should

His exercise of it.

submit to the peace, which comprehended all the nobility, and almost all the gentry of the nation, and very many of the most learned and pious clergy, as well regular as secular: which excommunication wrought so universally upon the minds of the people, that albeit many persons of honour and quality received infinite scandal, and well foresaw the

irreparable damage their religion itself would undergo by that unwarrantable proceeding, and used their utmost endeavours to draw the people to obedience and submission to the said agreement; and to that purpose prevailed so far with general Preston, that he gave them reason to hope, that he would join with them for the vindication of the public faith and honour of the nation, and compel those that opposed it to submit to the peace: yet all these endeavours produced no effect, but concluded in unprofitable resentments and lamentations.

In the mean time, Owen O'Neal (when he found himself disappointed of his design to cut off the lord lieutenant before he should reach Dublin) entered into the queen's county with all his army, and committed all the acts of cruelty and outrage that can be imagined; took many castles and forts that belonged to the king, and put all who resisted to the sword; and his officers, in cold blood, caused others to be murdered, to whom they had promised quarter, as major Piggott, and others of his family; and shortly after the nuncio prevailed so much, that he united general Preston to his army, and likewise to his purpose, and then himself, as generalissimo, led both armies towards Dublin; where the lord lieutenant was so surprised by their perfidiousness, that he found himself in no less straits and distresses from his friends within, than from his enemies without, who totally neglected those forces, which, being under the obedience of the English rebels, had always waged a sharp and bloody war with them, and at present made inroads into their quarters, to their great damage, and entirely engaged them-

Owen
O'Neal enters the
queen's
county.

selves totally to suppress the king's authority, to which they had so lately submitted.

Lest so prodigious an alteration as is here set forth may seem to be wrapped up in too short a discourse, and it may appear almost incredible, that an agreement so deliberately and solemnly entered into by the whole nobility and gentry of a nation, in a matter that so entirely concerned their own interest, should in such an instant be blasted and annihilated by a congregation of the clergy, assembled only by their own authority, and therefore without the vice of curiosity, all men may desire to be informed by what degrees and methods that congregation proceeded, and what specious pretences and insinuations they used towards the people for the better persuading them to depart from that peace and tranquillity they were again restored to the possession of; it will be the less impertinent to set down some important particulars of their proceedings, and the very forms of some instruments published by them, that the world may see the logic and rhetoric that was used to impose upon and delude that unhappy undiscerning people, and to entangle them in that labyrinth of confusion, in which they are still involved.

Strange decree of the
Irish clergy.

They were not content not to suffer the peace to be proclaimed in Waterford, and to dissuade the people from submitting to it; but by a decree, dated the 12th of August, 1646, which they commanded to be published in all places in the English and Irish tongue, they declared, by the unanimous consent and votes of all, none contradicting, (as they said,) that all and singular the confederate catholics, who should adhere or consent to that peace or to

the fautors thereof, or otherwise embrace the same, should be held absolutely perjured ; especially for this cause, that in those articles there is no mention made of the catholic religion, or the security thereof, nor any care taken for the conservation of the privileges of the country, as had been promised in an oath formerly taken by them, but rather all things were referred to the pleasure of the most renowned king, from whom, in his present state, they said, nothing of certainty could be had ; and in the interim, the armies, arms, and forts, and even the supreme council of the confederate catholics, are subjected to the authority and rule of the council of state and protestant officers of his majesty, from whom that they might be made secure, they had taken that oath ; and the next day, being informed that the lord viscount Mountgarrett, and the lord viscount Muskerry, were appointed by the supreme council at Kilkenny to go to Dublin to confer with the lord lieutenant upon the best way to be pursued for the execution and observation of the peace, they made an order in writing, in which were these words.

“ We insisting on, and prosecuting the decree
“ made yesterday, whereby all confederates, embracing and adhering to the former peace, are declared perjurers : By these presents, we admonish
“ in our Lord, and require the persons who are deputed for Dublin, that they forbear and abstain
“ from going thither for the said end ; or if they be gone, that they return ; and this under pain of
“ excommunication ; commanding the right honourable the bishop of Ossory, and other bishops, as
“ well assembled as not assembled here, and their
“ vicars general, as also vicars apostolical, and all

“priests, even regulars, that they intimate these presents, or cause them to be intimated, even by affixing them in public places, and that they proceed against the disobedient, in denouncing of excommunication, as it shall prove expedient in our Lord.”

Strange writing of the titular bishop of Ossory.

When the supreme council (notwithstanding these new orders and injunctions) continued still their desire to observe the peace, the titular bishop of Ossory published this extraordinary writing. “Whereas we have, in public and private meetings, at several times declared to the supreme council, and others whom it may concern, that it was and is unlawful, against conscience, and implying perjury (as it hath been defined by the special act of the convocation now at Waterford) to both commonwealths, spiritual and temporal, to do or concur to any act tending to the approbation or countenancing the publication of this unlawful and mischievous peace, so dangerous (as it is now articulated) to both commonwealths, spiritual and temporal: and whereas, notwithstanding our declaration (yea, the declaration of the clergy of the kingdom) to the contrary, the supreme council and the commissioners have actually proceeded to the publication, yea, and forcing it upon the city by terror and threats, rather than by any free consent or desire of the people: we having duly considered and taken it to heart, as becometh; how enormous this fact is, and appears in catholics, even against God himself, and what a public contempt of the holy church it appears, besides the evil it is like to draw upon this poor kingdom; after a mature deliberation and consent of

“ our clergy, in detestation of this heinous and scandalous disobedience of the supreme council, and others who adhered to them in matter of conscience to the holy church, and in hatred of so sinful and abominable an act, we do by these presents, according to the prescription of sacred canons, pronounce and command, henceforth, a general cessation of divine offices throughout all the city and suburbs of Kilkenny, in all churches, monasteries, and houses whatsoever.

“ Given at our palace of Nova Curia, Aug. 18, 1646.

Signed, *David Ossoriensis.*”

This extravagant proceeding did not yet terrify those of the confederate catholics, who understood how necessary the observation of the peace was for the preservation of the nation: but as they desired the lord lieutenant to forbear all acts of hostility, upon how unreasonable a provocation soever; so they sent two persons of the supreme council (sir Lucas Dillon, and Dr. Fennell) to the congregation at Waterford, to dispose them to a better temper, and to find out some expedient which might compose the minds of the people, and prevent those calamities that would unavoidably fall upon the nation, upon their declining or renouncing the peace: but after they had attended several days, and offered many reasons and considerations to them, the congregation put a period to all the hopes and consultations of that nature, by issuing out a decree of excommunication, which they caused to be printed in this form, and these words, with the marginal notes; *by John Baptist Ranucini, archbishop and*

The laity
more moderate.

But disappointed by

primate of Fermo, and by the ecclesiastical congregation of both clergies of the kingdom of Ireland.

The assembly's decree of excommunication.

A decree of excommunication against such as adhere to the late peace, and do bear arms for the heretics of Ireland, and do aid or assist them.

“ Not without cause (saith the Oracle of Truth)
 “ doth the minister of God carry the sword, for he
 “ is to punish him that doth evil, and remunerate
 “ him that doth good : hence it is, that we have, by
 “ our former decree, declared to the world our sense
 “ and just indignation against the late peace, concluded and published at Dublin ; not only in its
 “ nature bringing prejudice and destruction of religion and kingdom, but also contrary to the oath
 “ of association, and withal against the contrivers of,
 “ and adherers to, the said peace ; in pursuance of
 “ which decrees, being forced to unsheath the spiritual sword, we (to whom God hath given power
 “ to bind and loose on earth) assembled together in

Matth. xvi. 18, 19.

John xx. 23.

“ the Holy Ghost, tracing herein, and imitating the
 “ examples of many venerable and holy prelates,
 “ who have gone before us ; and taking for our authority the sacred canons of holy church, grounded
 “ on holy writ, *ut tollantur e medio nostrum qui hoc*
 “ *opus faciunt, in nomine Domini nostri Jesu ;* deliver

1 Cor. v. 4, 5.

“ over such persons to Satan, (that is to say,) excommunicate, execrate, and anathematize all
 “ such, as after the publication of this our decree
 “ and notice, either privately or publicly given them
 “ thereof, shall defend, adhere to, or approve of the
 “ justice of the said peace ; and chiefly those who

" bear arms, or make, or join in war, for, or in be-
 " half of the puritans or other heretics at Dublin,
 " Cork, Youghall, or of other places in this king-
 " dom ; or shall, either by themselves, or by their
 " appointment, bring, send, or give any aid, succour,
 " or relief, victuals, ammunition, or other provision
 " to them ; or by advice, or otherways, advance the
 " said peace, or the war made against us ; those and
 " every of them, by this present decree, we do de-
 " clare and pronounce excommunicated *ipso facto*,
 " *ut non circumveniamini a Satana, non enim ig-*
 " *noramus cogitationes ejus.* Dated at Kilkenny
 " in our palace of residence 15 October, 1646.
 " Signed *Johannes Baptista archiepiscopus Fer-*
 " *manus, nuncius apostolicus de mandato illustris-*
 " *simi Domini nuncii et congregationis ecclesias-*
 " *tice utriusque cleri regni Hiberniæ, Nicholas*
 " *Fernensis congregationis cancellarius.*"

And having thus fortified himself, the nuncio, as The nun-
cio marches
two armies
to Dublin. generalissimo, made all preparations to march with
 two armies towards Dublin, which consisting of
 near sixteen thousand foot, and as many hundred
 horse, he believed, or seemed to believe, would take
 the town by assault, as soon as he should appear be-
 fore it ; and in this confidence, (that we may not in-
 terrupt the series of this discourse, by any interven-
 ing actions,) when the armies were within a day's
 march of the city, the two generals sent this letter,
 with the propositions annexed, to the lord lieu-
 tenant.

" May it please your excellency,

" By the command of the confederate catholics of
 " this kingdom, who offer the enclosed proposi-

“ tions, we have under our leading two armies ; our
 “ thoughts are bent to our religion, king, and coun-
 “ try ; our ends to establish the first, and to make
 “ the two last secure and happy ; it is the greatest
 “ of our care and desire to persuade your excellency
 “ to the effecting so blessed a work : we do not de-
 “ sire effusion of blood, and to that purpose the en-
 “ closed propositions are sent from us. We pray
 “ God, your consideration of them may prove fruit-
 “ ful. We are commanded to pray your excellency
 “ to render an answer to them by two of the clock
 “ in the afternoon on Thursday next : be it war or
 “ peace, we shall endeavour in our ways to exercise
 “ faith and honour ; and upon this thought, we rest
 “ your excellency’s most humble servants,

*From the camp,
 2 March 1646.*

“ JOHN PRESTON.
 “ OWEN O’NEAL.”

Haughty
 propositions
 to the lord
 lieutenant.

I. That the exercise of the Romish religion be in Dublin, Drogheda, and in all the kingdom of Ireland, as free and public as it is now in Paris in France, or Bruxelles in the Low Countries.

II. That the council of state, called ordinarily the council-table, be of members true and faithful to his majesty, and such of which there may be no fear or suspicion of going to the parliament party.

III. That Dublin, Drogheda, Trym, Newry, Catherlagh, Carlingford, and all garrisons within the protestant quarters, be garrisoned by confederate catholics, to maintain and keep the said city and places for the use of our sovereign lord king Charles, and his lawful successors, for the defence of this kingdom of Ireland.

IV. That the present council of the confederates

shall swear truly and faithfully to keep and maintain for the use of his majesty and his lawful successors, and for the defence of the said kingdom of Ireland, the above city of Dublin, Drogheda, and all other forts, places, and castles as above. . .

V. That the council and all general officers and soldiers whatsoever, do swear and protest to fight by sea and land against the parliamentaries and all the king's enemies; and that they will never come to any convention or article with the said parliamentaries, or any the king's enemies, to the prejudice of his majesty's rights, or of this kingdom of Ireland.

VI. That, according to our oath of association, we will, to the best of our power and cunning, defend the fundamental laws of this kingdom, the king's right, the lives and fortunes of his subjects. *His excellence is prayed to make answer to the above propositions at furthest by two of the clock in the afternoon, upon Thursday next.*

JOHN PRESTON.

OWEN O'NEAL.

Let all dispassionate men now consider what could the marquis do; his quarters were so straight and narrow, that they could yield no support to the few field forces he had yet left, all his garrisons besieged without an enemy, being destitute of all provisions within, and blocked up at sea by the rebels' ships, which kept all manner of trade and supplies from them that way. All the army he had for the field and garrisons amounted not to five thousand foot and eleven hundred horse, without clothes, money, or fixed arms, and with so inconsiderable a store of

The difficulties the marquis lay under.

ammunition, that when the nuncio was upon his march, with both the Irish generals, and their united powers, towards Dublin, he had not in that most important city, the metropolis of the kingdom, more than fourteen barrèls of powder; not only the inhabitants, but the soldiers themselves grew impatient of the distresses they were in, and which inevitably they saw must fall on them; and they who had before presumed in corners and whispers to tax the marquis, of not being zealous enough for the English interest, and too credulous of what was promised and undertaken by the Irish, had the boldness to murmur aloud at him, as if he had combined with the Irish to put all into their hands. They who from the beginning of the troubles had been firm and unshaken in their duty and loyalty to the king, and cheerfully suffered great losses, and had undergone great hazards for being so, and had been of the most constant affection to, and confidence in, the marquis, and resolved to obey him in whatsoever he should ordain for the king's service, for the conducting whereof he was solely and entirely trusted by his majesty, could not yet endure to think of being put into, or falling under the power of the Irish, who, by this new breach of faith, had made themselves utterly incapable of any future trust: for what security could they possibly give upon any future treaty for the performance of any contract, which they had not lately given, for the observation of that which so infamously they had receded from? So that as there wanted not some within the city, and of the soldiers, who undertook to surprise the castle, and seize upon the person of the lord lieutenant, and to deliver both

to the English rebels; and had so near executed that design, that they had in the morning surprised the guard, and were possessed of the principal port in the castle: so the rest did so much prefer the subjection to the English rebels, (who then pretended a resolution to return to their obedience to the king, and were upon treaties to that end,) before their submitting to the Irish, that the marquis had not power enough to proceed upon that conspiracy with the severity that was necessary, lest too many might be found to be involved in that guilt, and some of too much interest and credit to be brought to justice; hereupon he found it absolutely necessary to make show of inclining to the English, and sent to the ships then riding in the bay of Dublin, that they would transport some commissioners from him to the parliament to treat about the surrender of the city, and the other garrisons under his command; which proposition was most greedily embraced by them, and the persons deputed accordingly conveyed to England. By this means the marquis was forthwith supplied with a considerable portion of powder, which the captains of those ships delivered to him, and without which he could have made no defence against the nuncio; and hereby the Irish had a fair warning to bethink themselves in time of returning to their duty; since they might discern, that, if they would not suffer Dublin to continue in the king's obedience, it should be delivered to them, who would deal less graciously with them, and had power enough to punish those indignities which had been offered; and the marquis was still without other engagements, than to

The lord lieutenant obliged to treat with the parliament.

do what he should judge most conducing to his majesty's service.

Which
more in-
clines the
Irish to
peace.

This last consideration made such impression upon them, that when they saw the ships return from England with supplies of soldiers, money, and great store of provision, and commissioners to treat with the marquis for putting all into their hands, the Irish seemed less united among themselves, and more desirous to make conditions with the lord lieutenant: and general Preston with his officers frankly entered into a treaty with the marquis of Clanrickard, whom the lord lieutenant authorized to that end; and with deep and solemn oaths undertook and promised to stand to the peace, and from that time forward to be obedient to his majesty's authority, and to join with the marquis of Ormond against all those who should refuse to submit to

But height-
ens the par-
liament
commis-
sioners.

them. On the other side, the commissioners from the two houses of parliament, who were admitted into Dublin to treat with the lord lieutenant, observing the very ill condition the town was in, besieged by two strong armies, by whom they within every hour expected to be assaulted, concluded, that the want of food, and all necessaries for defence, would compel the marquis, with the importuning and clamour of the inhabitants and soldiers, to receive supply of men, money, and victuals (which they had brought) on any terms; and therefore insisted on very unreasonable and extravagant demands, and refused to consent that the marquis should send any messenger to the king, to the end that, upon information how the cause stood, he might receive his majesty's directions what to do,

and without which he was always resolved not to proceed to any conjunction with them; and so had privately despatched several expresses to the king, (as soon as he discerned clearly that the Irish were so terrified by the nuncio and his excommunication, that there was little hope of good from them,) with a full information of the state of affairs, and expected every day the return of some of the said messengers, with the signification of his majesty's pleasure. All things being in this posture, the commissioners from the two houses returned again to their ships, and carried back all the supplies they had brought to the parliament garrisons in the province of Ulster, being so much the more incensed against the lord lieutenant for declining an entire union with them, and inclining (as they said he did) to a new confidence in the Irish.

The marquis of Clanrickard had an entire trust from the lord lieutenant, as a person superior to all temptations, which might endeavour to lessen or divert his affection and integrity to the king; and his zeal to the Roman catholic religion, in which he had been bred, and to which he had most constantly adhered, was as unquestionable. He had taken very great pains to render that peace, which had been so long in consultation, effectual to the nation; and had very frankly, both by discourse and writing, endeavoured to dissuade the nuncio from prosecuting those rough ways, which he foresaw were like to undo the nation, and dishonour the catholic religion. He found general Preston and the officers of his army less transported with passion and a blind submission to the authority of the nuncio, than the other; and that they professed

Jealousies
of the Irish.

Removed
by the mar-
quis of
Clanrick-
ard.

great duty and obedience to the king, and that they seemed to have been wrought upon by two conclusions, which had been infused into them: the one was, that the lord lieutenant was so great an enemy to their religion, that, though they should obtain any concessions from the king, (to their advantage in that particular,) he would oppose and not consent unto the same: the other was, that the king was now in the hands of the Scots, who were not like to approve of the peace which had been made, (all that nation in Ulster refusing to submit unto it;) and that, if they should be able to procure any order from his majesty to disavow it, the lord lieutenant would undoubtedly obey any such order. These specious infusions the marquis of Clanrickard endeavoured to remove, and undertook, upon his honour, to use all the power and interest he had with the king, queen, and prince, on the behalf of the Roman catholics, and to procure them such liberties and privileges, for the free exercise of their religion, as they could reasonably expect; and undertook that the lord lieutenant would acquiesce with such directions as he should receive therein, without contradiction, or endeavours to do ill offices to the catholics. He further promised, that if any orders should be procured from the king, during the restraint he was then under, to the disadvantage of the confederate catholics, he would suspend any obedience thereunto, until such time as his majesty should be at liberty, and might receive full information on their behalf. And upon the marquis of Clanrickard's positive undertaking those particulars, and the lord lieutenant having ratified and confirmed all that the marquis had engaged himself for,

general Preston, together with all the principal officers under his command, signed this ensuing engagement.

“ We the general, nobility, and officers of the
 “ confederate catholic forces, do solemnly bind and
 “ engage ourselves, by honour and reputation of
 “ gentlemen and soldiers, and by the sacred pro-
 “ testation upon the faith of catholics in the pre-
 “ sence of Almighty God, both for ourselves, and (as
 “ much as in us lies) for all persons that are or shall
 “ be under our command, that we will, from the
 “ date hereof, forward, submit, and conform ourselves
 “ entirely and sincerely to the peace concluded and
 “ proclaimed by his majesty’s lieutenant, with such
 “ additional concessions and securities, as the right
 “ honourable Ulick L (to be removed) marquis of
 “ Clanrickard, hath undertaken to procure and se-
 “ cure to us; in such manner, and upon such terms
 “ as is expressed in his lordship’s undertaking and
 “ protestation of the same date, hereunto annexed,
 “ and signed by himself: and we, upon his lord-
 “ ship’s undertaking, engage ourselves, by the bond
 “ of honour and conscience abovesaid, to yield en-
 “ tire obedience to his majesty, and to his lieute-
 “ nant general, and general governor of this king-
 “ dom, and to any deriving authority from them by
 “ commission, to command us in our several de-
 “ grees; and, according to such orders as we shall
 “ receive from them, faithfully to serve his majesty
 “ against all his enemies or rebels, as well within
 “ this kingdom, as in any other part of his domini-
 “ ons, and against all persons that shall not join
 “ with us upon these terms, in submission to the
 “ peace of this kingdom, and to his majesty’s au-
 “ The Irish general Preston and his officers enter into an engagement.

“thority. And we do further engage ourselves, under the said solemn bonds, that we will never, directly nor indirectly, make use of any advantage or power, wherewith we shall be intrusted, to the obliging of his majesty or his ministers, by any kind of force, to grant unto us any thing beyond the said marquis of Clanrickard’s undertaking, but shall wholly rely upon his majesty’s own free goodness, for what further graces and favours he shall graciously please to confer upon his faithful catholic subjects, according to their obedience and merit in his service. And we do further protest, that we shall never think ourselves disobliged from this engagement, by any authority or power whatsoever, provided, on both parties, that this engagement and undertaking be not understood, or extend to debar and hinder his majesty’s catholic subjects of this kingdom from the benefit of any farther grace or favour, which his majesty may be graciously pleased to concede to them upon the queen’s mediation, or any other treaty abroad.”

The marquis of Clanrickard made general of the army.

This was done about the end of November, 1646; the nuncio, with the other army under Owen O’Neal, having been about the same time compelled to raise the siege, and to retire for want of provision: whereupon the marquis of Clanrickard was made (by the lord lieutenant) lieutenant general of the army, and was accordingly received as such by general Preston, his army being drawn in battalia; and general Preston received, at the same time, a commission from the lord lieutenant to command as sergeant major general, and immediately under the marquis of Clanrickard: and shortly after, general

Preston desired the lord lieutenant to march, with as strong a body as he could draw out of his garrisons, towards Kilkenny, where he promised to meet him with his army; that so, being united, they might compel the rest to submit to the peace.

When the marquis was come within less than a day's march of the place assigned by general Preston for the meeting and joining their forces together, the marquis of Clanrickard, who attended upon the lord lieutenant, received a letter from Preston to this effect.

"That his officers, not being excommunication Defection of Preston's officers.
 "proof, were fallen from him to the nuncio's party,
 "and therefore he wished the lord lieutenant would
 "proceed no further, but expect the issue of a general assembly that would be shortly convened at
 "Kilkenny, where, he doubted not, but things would
 "be set right by the consent of the whole kingdom;
 "which, he said, would be much better for his majesty's service, than to attempt the forcing a peace
 "upon those who were averse to it."

Upon this new violation of faith, the marquis was compelled, after some weeks' stay in the enemy's quarters, to return again to Dublin; where the commissioners, who had been lately there from the two houses of parliament, had sowed such seeds of jealousy and discontent, and the treacherous and perfidious carriage of the Irish had awakened them to such terrible apprehensions, that the inhabitants refused to contribute further to the payment and support of the army; and, in truth, were so far exhausted by what they had paid, and so impoverished by their total want and decay of traffic and commerce, that they were not able much longer to con-

The mar-
quis re-
duced to
great hard-
ships.

tribute: so that the marquis was forced, in the cold and wet winter, to draw out his half starved and half naked troops, only to live in the enemy's quarters; where yet he would suffer no acts of hostility to be committed, nor any thing else to be taken but victuals for the subsistence of his men: and in this uneasy posture he resolved to expect the result of the next general assembly, which he supposed could not be so constituted, but that it would abhor the violation of their former contracts and agreements; and the inexcusable presumption and proceedings of the congregation of the clergy at Waterford; and that it would vindicate the honour and faith of the nation from the reproaches it lay under, and from the exorbitant and extravagant jurisdiction and power which the nuncio had assumed a power to himself to exercise over the kingdom: but he quickly found himself again disappointed; and (to the universal wonder of all) the new assembly published a declaration of a very new nature. For, whereas the nuncio and his council had committed to prison those noblemen and gentlemen who had been commissioners in treating and concluding the peace, and had given out threats and menaces, that they should lose their heads for their transgressions, the assembly presently set them at liberty, and declared, "that the commissioners and council had faithfully and sincerely carried and demeaned themselves in the said negotiation, pursuant and according to the trust reposed in them;" and yet, in the very same declaration, declared, "that they might not accept of, nor submit to, the said peace; and did thereby protest against it, and did declare the same invalid, and of no force, to all intents and

Strange
proceedings
of the gene-
ral assem-
bly.

“purposes;” and did further declare, “that the nation would not accept of any peace not containing a sufficient and satisfactory security for the religion, lives, estates, and liberties of the said confederate catholics:” and what they understood to be sufficient and satisfactory security for the religion, &c. appeared by the propositions published before by the congregation at Waterford, which they had caused the people to swear that they would insist upon; and which, instead of providing a toleration of the Roman catholic religion, had, in truth, provided for the extirpation of the protestants, when they should think fit to put the same in execution: Nor was the only argument and excuse which they published for these proceedings more reasonable than the proceedings themselves, which was, “that the concessions and promises made unto them by the earl of Glamorgan were much larger, and greater security for their religion, than those consented to by the marquis:” whereas, in truth, those concessions and promises, made by the earl, were discovered and disavowed by the lord lieutenant before the conclusion of the peace, and the earl committed to prison for his presumption; which, though it produced some interruption in the treaty, yet was the same afterwards resumed, and the peace concluded and proclaimed upon the articles formerly mentioned: so that the allegation of what had been undertaken by the earl of Glamorgan can be no excuse for the violating the agreement afterwards concluded with the marquis.

This last wonderful act put a period to all hopes of the marquis, which his charity and compassion to the kingdom and nation, and his discerning spirit,

The royal cause rendered desperate.

what inevitable ruin and destruction both must undergo from that distemper of mind which possessed them, had so long kept up even against his experience and judgment; and they, whose natures, dispositions, and interests made them most averse from the rebels of England, grew more affrighted at the thoughts of falling under the power of the Irish: so that all persons, of all humours and inclinations, who lived under his government, and had dislikes and jealousies enough towards each other, were yet united and reconciled in their opinions against the confederates. The council of state besought the lord lieutenant "to consider whether it were possible to have any better security from them for the performance of any other agreement he should make, than he had for the performance of that which they now receded from and disclaimed; and since the spring was then coming on, where by the number, power, and strength of their enemies would be increased on all sides, and their hopes of succours or relief for themselves was desperate: and so it would be only in his election, into whose power he would put those, who had deserved as well from his majesty, by doing and suffering, as subjects could do, into the hands of the English, who could not deny them protection and justice; or of the Irish, who had not only despoiled them of all their fortunes, and prosecuted them with all animosity and cruelty, but declared by their carriage, that they were not capable of security under them: they therefore entreated him to send again to the two houses of parliament, and make some agreement with them, which would probably be for their preservation; whereas

Reasons for putting Dublin into the hands of the English rather than of the Irish.

“ with the other, whatever could be done was evident for their destruction.”

That which, among other things of importance, made a deep impression on the marquis, was the knowledge, that there had been, from the beginning of these troubles, a design in the principal contrivers of them entirely to alienate the kingdom of Ireland from the crown of England; to extirpate not only the protestants, but all the catholics who were descended from the English, and who, in truth, are no less odious to the old Irish than the other; and to put themselves into the protection of some foreign prince, if they should find it impossible to erect some one of the old families: and how wild and extravagant soever this attempt might be reasonably thought, in regard that not only all the catholics of the English extraction, (who were in quality and fortune much superior to the other,) but many noble and much the best and greatest families of the ancient Irish, perfectly abhorred and abominated the same; yet it was apparent, that the violent part of the clergy that now governed had really that intention, and never intended more to submit to the king's authority; whosoever should be intrusted with it; and it had been proposed in the last assembly, by Mr. Anthony Martin and others, that they should call in some foreign prince for their protection; and the exorbitant power assumed by the nuncio was earnest enough how little more they meant to have to do with the king, and gave no less umbrage, offence; and scandal to the catholics of honour and discretion, than it incensed those who bore no kind of reverence to the bishop of Rome.

Upon this consideration, the marquis believed it

much more prudent and agreeable to the trust reposed in him, to deposit the king's interest and the rights of the crown in the hands of the lords and commons of England, who still made great professions of duty and subjection to his majesty, and from whom (how rebellious soever their present actions were) it might probably revert to the crown, by treaty or otherwise, in a short time, than to trust it with the Irish, from whom less than a very chargeable war would never recover it, in what state soever the affairs of England should be; and how lasting, bloody, and costly that war might prove, by the intermeddling and pretences of foreign princes, was not hard to conclude.

- While the marquis was in this consultation and deliberation, he received information that the king was delivered by the Scots to the commissioners of the two houses of parliament, who were then treating with him for the settling a peace in all his dominions; and at the same time a person of quality arrived at Dublin, having been privately despatched by his majesty with the signification of his majesty's pleasure, upon the advertisements he had received of the condition of Ireland, to this purpose; "that if it were possible, for the marquis to keep Dublin and the other garrisons under the same entire obedience to his majesty they were then in, it would be most acceptable to his majesty; but if there were, or should be, a necessity of giving them up to any other power, he should rather put them into the hands of the English, than of the Irish:" which was the rule the marquis was to guide himself by; who had likewise another very important consideration, which (if all the rest had

His majesty's instructions to the marquis.

been away) had been enough to have inclined him to that resolution.

The king was now in the hands and power of those who had raised the war against him, principally upon the credit of those reproaches and scandals they had persuaded the people to believe of his inclining to popery, and of his contriving, or at least countenancing the rebellion in Ireland, in which so much protestant blood had been so wantonly and cruelly let out. The cessation formerly made and continued with those rebels, though prudently, charitably, and necessarily entered into and observed, had been the most unpopular act the king had ever done, and had wonderfully contributed to the reputation of the two houses of parliament: if, according to the general opinion then current, there should a peace ensue between the king and them, as most men conceived (the king's forces being totally suppressed) there must be, though by his condescending to many grants, which they ought not in duty to have demanded, (for few men suspected such prodigious wickedness to be in their purposes, as was after executed,) his majesty would lose nothing by the parliament's being possessed of Dublin, and those other towns then in the disposal of the lord lieutenant: on the contrary, if they indeed intended to pursue his majesty with continued and new reproaches, and thereby to make him so odious to his subjects, that they might with the more facility and applause execute their horrible conspiracy against his life; there could be nothing so disadvantageous to his majesty, as the surrender of Dublin to the Irish confederates, which, being done by the king's lieutenant, who was known so punctually devoted

to his obedience, would be easily interpreted to be by his majesty's directions, and so make a confirmation of all they had published of that kind; and, among the ignorant seduced people, might have been a countenance to (though nothing could be a justification of) their unparalleled wickedness.

The marquis proposes to deliver Dublin to the English rebels.

Which alarms the Irish confederates.

Hereupon the marquis took a resolution, since he could not possibly keep it himself, to deliver it into the hands of the English; and to that purpose sent again to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, that he would surrender Dublin and the other garrisons under his power to them, upon the same conditions they had before offered: and they quickly despatched their ships with commissioners, men, and money, and all other provisions necessary to take the same into their possession. The confederate catholics were no sooner informed of this, but they sent again to the lord lieutenant an overture of accommodation, (as they called it;) yet the messengers intrusted by them were so wary, lest, by accepting indeed what they proposed, they might be obliged to a conjunction, that they refused to give their propositions in writing; and when, upon their discourse, the lord lieutenant had written what they had proposed, and shewed it to them, albeit they could not deny but that it was the same, yet they refused to sign it: whereby it was very natural to conclude that the overture was made by them only to lay some imputation upon the marquis, of not being necessitated to agree with the two houses of parliament, rather than with any purpose of submitting to the king's authority. At last, being so far pressed, that they found it necessary to let the marquis know in plain terms what he was to trust to,

they sent him a message in writing, in which they declared, "that they must insist upon the propositions of the clergy, formerly mentioned to be agreed at Waterford, and to which they had sworn; and that if he would have a cessation with them, he must promise not to receive any force from the two houses of parliament in six or seven months;" not proposing any way in the mean time, how his majesty's army should be maintained, but by a total submission to all their unreasonable demands.

Notwithstanding all which, the parliament failing to make that speedy performance of what they had promised, and the marquis having it thereby in his power fairly to comply with the Irish, if they had yet recovered the temper and discretion that might justify him; he sent again to them, as well an answer to their overture of accommodation, as an offer not to receive any forces from the two houses for the space of three weeks, if they would, during that time, consent to a cessation, that a full peace might be treated and agreed upon: to which motion they never vouchsafed to return any answer. About the same time, Owen O'Neal, wisely discerning that the nuncio, or the supreme council, did not enough consider or foresee the evil consequences that would naturally attend the lord lieutenant's being compelled to leave the kingdom, and to put Dublin and the other garrisons into the possession of the English rebels, sent his nephew, Daniel O'Neal, to the marquis, and offered him, "that if the marquis would accept of a cessation for two months, which he believed the assembly or supreme council would propose, (with what mind soever,) he would pro-

Their overture to him.

Message from O'Neal to the marquis.

“mise and undertake to continue it for twelve months, and in that time he would use his utmost power to procure a peace.”

His character.

Owen O'Neal was a man of a haughty and positive humour, and rather hard to be inclined to submit to reasonable conditions, than easy to decline them, or break his word when he had consented. Therefore the lord lieutenant presently returned in answer, that if he would give him his word to continue the cessation for a full year, he would accept it, when proposed by the supreme council for two months, and he would in the mean time wave any further treaty with the parliament. But he sent him word, he would not bind himself to this promise longer than for fourteen days, if he did not in that time receive such a positive effect of his over-

He writes to the supreme council for a cessation.

ture as he expected. Owen O'Neal accepted the conditions, and with all possible haste despatched his nephew, Daniel O'Neal, to the supreme council at Clonmell, with a letter containing his advice, and another to the bishop of Clogher, (his chief confident,) to whom he sent the reasons at large, which ought to induce the nation to desire such a cessation.

His advice how received.

But when the council received the letter, and knew that the lord lieutenant expected an answer within fourteen days, they resolved to return none till the fourteen days should be expired; and in the mean time committed Daniel O'Neal to prison, that he might not return to his uncle; and when the time was past, they released him, on condition he should return no more into his quarters: so that in the end, the commissioners from the two houses having performed all on their parts that was to be performed, the marquis delivered up Dublin and the

other garrisons into their hands, and was transported, with his family, into England; where they admitted him to wait upon the king, and to give his majesty an account of his transactions; who received him most graciously, as a servant who had highly merited of him, and fully approved of all that he had done.

The marquis constrained to deliver up Dublin, &c. to the English rebels, and leave Ireland.

Since then, upon the most strict and impartial examination of those proceedings, malice itself cannot fix a colourable imputation upon the marquis, of want of that fidelity or discretion which was requisite to preserve his master's interest, or of any absence of singular affection and compassion towards a people, who have the honour to be of the same nation with him; they endeavoured to get it believed, by dark and obscure expressions, that in the articles he made before the delivery of Dublin, he intended his own particular benefit and advantage; and objected to him, that he contracted to have thirteen thousand pounds paid to his own use and behoof, and that the same was paid by them, and received by him accordingly: and so they would persuade the world, that a person who frankly exposed the greatest fortune and estate that any subject had to lose in either of the three kingdoms, and who, while he was possessed of any part of it, made all worthy men, in want, joint owners of it with him; could betray a trust for a vile sum of money, and could be so sottish as to make that infamous bargain in public, and insert it into the articles which were to be viewed and perused by all men; whereas it might have been as easy to have driven that traffic with such secrecy, that it could never have been discovered, if he had meant it should be secret. And

False aspersions on him.

therefore, how impertinent soever this discourse may appear to those who (knowing the impossibility of the scandal) think any thing like a vindication to give too much honour to it, yet it may not be altogether useless to set down the whole matter, that the malice and indiscretion of the calumniators may be more evident, which was as follows.

Vindication of the marquis.

When the confederate Irish so totally violated and disclaimed the peace, which had been with all that solemnity agreed and entered into, and were preparing to unite all their armies under an entire obedience to the nuncio, that they might in an instant seize upon Dublin, and the few other garrisons where the king's authority was submitted to and preserved, the necessities and straits the lord lieutenant was then in, are before mentioned and remembered. The fortifications and works were in most places too weak to keep out an enemy; no magazines of victual to endure a siege; not ammunition enough to resist and oppose an assault; no money to retain the soldiers from mutiny, till he might obtain relief from England, (which he saw he should be compelled to desire;) there was no way to prevent the fatal issue of those distresses, but by procuring a present supply of money, which might in some degree provide for each extremity: and for the compassing hereof, the marquis brought in all his own money, which, upon the sale or mortgaging of several parcels of his estate, he had raised for the support of himself and his family, and became likewise bound to other persons for considerable sums, with an express promise, upon his honour, that whatever course he should be compelled to take, and if he should be forced to deliver Dublin into the

hands of the parliament, (which was the most visible remedy all men foresaw would, in case of necessity, be laid hold of,) he would make such conditions for the repayment of the money, which upon that occasion should be lent, that he would not himself quit the place till it was performed: and by this means alone, and upon these terms, he procured so much money as composed the present distemper of the soldiers, and supplied those wants that could not be borne.

This was so public an engagement, that no man could be ignorant of it, insomuch as before the first overture for a treaty was sent to the parliament, the privy council, after they had in vain advised the lord lieutenant to demand all that he had disbursed upon the public service, and what he had been hindered from receiving of his own rents, by those who commanded under the parliament, and in their quarters, (which the marquis refused to do,) appointed sir James Ware, auditor general to his majesty, and one of the privy council, to examine the accounts of those disbursements, which had been laid out upon the garrisons, and borrowed and disbursed upon the conditions aforesaid; and upon his certificate, the lords of the council declared, by an instrument under their hands, that the sum amounted to thirteen thousand eight hundred pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence; a duplicate of which instrument was sent to the parliament by those gentlemen who were first sent to demand a treaty; and the commissioners, who came first to Dublin, frankly, and without dispute, consented to pay the same: so that if that sum of money had been the consideration of delivering the town, it would not have

been kept so long after. When he was the second time necessitated to send to the parliament, and offered to put the town into their hands upon the conditions before consented to by them, he demanded that eight hundred pounds of the said money might presently be paid in England to persons intrusted by him, and three thousand pounds at Dublin before the delivery of the town, towards the satisfaction of what had been borrowed as aforesaid; and that bills of exchange, accepted by good and responsible merchants, might be delivered to him; all which they consented to, and promised to perform: but when the commissioners came to Dublin, the bills which they brought for the said ten thousand pounds were not accepted, nor drawn in such manner as might make them valid; upon which failing on their part, the lord lieutenant made those last offers to the Irish, which are before remembered: but finding no good to be done there, he was content to take the words and protestations of the commissioners, that the said ten thousand pounds should be paid as soon as he should arrive in England; which they were again so far from making good, that they paid him only inconsiderable sums at several payments, and had the greatest part still in their hands when he was forced to leave the kingdom, and which he could never recover from them, they paying it to some of the creditors without any consent of his, and only to such as had interest among them, and for whose sake alone they paid the same.

If the marquis would have been so careful and solicitous for himself, as in justice and honour he might have been, he might well have insisted to

have had the two houses of parliament to have paid him a greater sum of money, which was due to him by their own contract, as lieutenant general of the army, to the time of the cessation, which would have amounted to no less than
 and which was paid into their hands upon that account; and he might likewise have demanded a recompense for such money as, arising out of the revenue of his land which lay in their quarters, they had for some years hindered him from receiving, and taken the same to their own use; and no question, if he had demanded either, or both of those just payments, the English would easily have been inclined to have complied with him; and his friends had much more reason to have reproached him for not requiring the one, than his enemies have for receiving the other: but his too nice consideration of what the malice of men might say, prevailed more with him than the sober conclusion of what he might in justice and honour have done, to wave all manner of conditions which might be thought singly to relate to his own particular advantage and benefit, how reasonable and just soever.

It was in the time when the army had gotten the king into their hands, (having taken him from Holmby out of the custody of the commissioners, to whom the Scots had delivered him,) that the marquis arrived in England, and found so many specious pretences and professions published by that party, which then had the whole power in the army, and consequently in the kingdom, that very many believed his majesty's affairs to be in no ill condition, and more seeming respect was paid to his person, and less restraint upon the resort of his faithful

Treachery
of the Eng-
lish army.

The mar-
quis waits
on his ma-
jesty.
And ac-
quaints
him with
his care for
his ma-
jesty's ser-
vice.

servants to him, than had been from the time that he put himself into the Scots' power. The army then took upon them the government of the kingdom, having solemnly declared, "that there could be no reasonable hope of a firm and lasting peace, if there were not an equal care taken to preserve the interest of the king, queen, and prince, as of the liberties of the people, and that both should with equal care be provided for together:" and in this time of freedom and hypocritical compliance, the marquis had all liberty of repairing to the king, and gave him then an account of all his actions, and of the course he had taken for reviving and preserving his interest in Ireland, by settling a correspondence with many persons of honour there, who would keep the two houses of parliament from obtaining any absolute dominion in that kingdom, if they refused to return to his majesty's obedience, (how great an advantage soever he had given them by the delivery of Dublin into their power,) and who were most like to reduce that nation from the distempers with which they were transported, and to incline them to that subjection that was due from them to the king. With all which (as he had great reason) his majesty was very graciously and abundantly satisfied, and gave the marquis direction, in case the independent army should proceed otherwise than they pretended, how he should behave himself, and comply with the Irish, if he could reduce and dispose them to be instrumental towards his and their own delivery; and when he discovered by the double dealing and hypocritical demeanour of the officers of the army, (of whom he had earlier jealousy than other men, as seeing further into their

dark designs,) the little good they meant him, and so found it fit to receive some overtures from the Scots commissioners, who were still admitted to reside at London, and to bear a part in the managery of the public affairs, and now plainly saw that the independents' power, which they had so much despised, was grown superior to them, and that they meant to perform nothing less than what they had religiously promised before the king was delivered up at Newcastle. The king commanded the marquis to confer with the principal persons of that commission, who seemed very sensible of the dishonour their nation had incurred, and resolved, by uniting the power of that kingdom for his majesty's service, to undo some of the mischiefs they had wrought; and desired that the marquis of Ormond would likewise transport himself into Ireland, to try once more if he could compose the humours of that people to his majesty's obedience, that so those two kingdoms being entirely reduced to their duty, might (with that assistance they were like to find in England) persuade the violent party to comply with those moderate and just conclusions which would establish the peace and tranquillity of the whole, in a full happiness to prince and people: and from hence was that first engagement designed; which was afterwards so unfortunately conducted by the elder duke Hamilton, and concluded with the ruin of himself, and many worthy and noble persons.

Original of
duke of
Hamilton's
engage-
ment.

When the army had, by their civil and specious carriage and professions, disposed the king's party to wish well to them, at least, better than to the presbyterians, (who seemed to have erected a model

The rebels
more strictly
confine
the king.

of a more formed and insupportable tyranny, and were less endued with the appearance of humanity and good nature,) and had, by shuffling themselves into new shapes of government, and admitting persons of all conditions to assemble and make propositions to them, in order to a public peace, given encouragement to most men to believe, that all interests would, in some degree, be provided for, and so had brought themselves into an absolute power over all interests; they began to lessen their outward respect and reverence to the king, to inhibit some of his servants absolutely to resort unto him, and more to restrain the frequent access of the people, who, out of an innate duty and affection, delighted often to see his majesty; they caused reports to be raised and scattered abroad of some intentions of desperate persons of violence upon his majesty's person; and upon this pretence doubled their guards, and put officers of more strict vigilance and more sour disposition about him, so that whatsoever he said, did, or was said to him, was more punctually observed. The marquis of Ormond was looked upon with a very jealous eye, and was one of those noble persons who were known too faithful to his master to be suffered to be near him, and therefore was forbid to continue his attendance on him.

Violate
their arti-
cles with
the mar-
quis.

The articles that had been made with him at Dublin by the commissioners, and confirmed by the two houses of parliament at Westminster, were every way violated and infringed, in the most important particulars; as in the imprisonment of sir Faithful Fortescue, whose security was provided for by the articles; in the delay that was used in the payment of the money due to him; and whereas he was to

reside in any part of England he pleased, with all freedom, for the space of one year, without the imposition of any oath or engagement, and at the end thereof, he had liberty to transport himself and his family into what foreign parts he pleased: as soon as they began to be unmasked towards his majesty, they banished the marquis from London, forbidding him to come within twenty-five miles of the city; And banish him from London. and all this before he had ever spoke with the Scots commissioners, or given them the least shadow of pretence against him, saving only the having a heart impossible to be corrupted towards his master, and a head and an hand like to be of use to him: and shortly after the king was in the Isle of Wight, directions were given to apprehend and seize upon the person of the marquis of Ormond; who thereupon concluding from their wicked carriage and barbarous demeanour towards his majesty, whom they had now made close prisoner in Carisbrook castle, that it would be very impertinent for him to insist upon the performance, and to expostulate for the breach of the agreement which had been made with him, with all secrecy transported himself out of the kingdom, and arrived safely in France about the end of the year 1647, having spent in England little more, from the time that he came out of Ireland, than six months. He secretly leaves England, and arrives in France.

The marquis no sooner found himself at liberty, and out of the reach of his enemies, than he projected again to visit Ireland, where his presence was impatiently longed for. When he had left that kingdom upon those breaches of faith so often repeated by the Irish, and their stupid submission to the pope's nuncio, (as is before remembered,) he had He projects again to visit Ireland.

pecially recommended to the marquis of Clanrickard and the viscount Taaffe, (who had from the beginning, without the least pause, preserved their duty to his majesty entire; and, being Roman catholics, had publicly opposed the unreasonable and extravagant usurpation of the nuncio,) to use their utmost power and dexterity to retain the affections of that party of the Irish, who had been very desirous that the former peace might have been effectual, and were really inclined to pay all obedience to his majesty, so that they might not be drawn under the subjection of the nuncio, but be ready again to submit to the king's authority, when it should appear again in the kingdom, and if the affairs of England should be without hopes of composition: and accordingly the marquis of Clanrickard, by his interest and authority in the province of Connaught, disposed that people to a temper ready to be applied to those ends he should direct them; and the viscount Taaffe commanded a good army of horse and foot in the province of Munster, firmly united to obey him in any action that might contribute to the king's advantage. The forces under the nuncio were much weakened, partly by the defeat of general Preston, whose army was totally routed and destroyed by the parliament's forces, within less than a month after they had compelled the marquis to leave the kingdom, and partly by the dislike which the great council of the confederate catholics had of the demeanour of the nuncio, and the experience they now had of his ill conduct, and the miseries he had brought them into, by forcing them to decline the peace, which would have been so advantageous to them.

The lord Inchiquin, whom (shortly after the first cessation was consented to by the lord lieutenant) the Irish, contrary to their faith, had endeavoured to surprise, and get the towns in Munster under his command into their hands, and thereby compelled him to defend himself still against them by a sharp war, in which he had given them many overthrows, and upon the matter driven them out of that province, had held a correspondence with the marquis of Ormond whilst he was in England; and as soon as he came into France, desired him to make what haste he might into Ireland, where he should find the army under his command, and all the important towns of that province under his command, ready to submit to him, and to be conducted by him in the king's service, in any way he should command: and in the mean time he made an agreement with the Irish, under the command of the marquis of Clanrickard and the lord Taaffe, with the approbation of the supreme council of the confederate catholics, and sent them part of his army to assist them in an expedition they were then entered upon against the nuncio and Owen Roe O'Neal; in which they prevailed so far, that Owen O'Neal found it necessary to retire to a great distance; and they drove the nuncio himself into the town of Galway, where they besieged him so close with the army, that they compelled the town, after near two months' siege, to pay a good sum of money to be distributed among the soldiers, and to disclaim any further subjection or submission to the nuncio's unlimited jurisdiction; who, after he had, with less effect, and reverence from the catholics, than formerly, issued out his ex-communications against all those who complied with

Lord Inchiquin invites him into Munster.

The confederate catholics make war against the nuncio.

And besiege him in Galway.

The nuncio
compelled
to fly from
Ireland.

the cessation of the lord Inchiquin, was compelled in the end, after so much mischief done to the religion which he was obliged to protect, in an obscure manner, to fly out of the kingdom.

And because the impudent injustice and imprudence of the nuncio, and the too tame subjection of the people to his immoderate and impetuous humour and spirit was, in truth, the real fountain from whence this torrent of calamities flowed, which hath since overwhelmed that miserable nation; and because that exorbitant power of his was resolutely opposed by catholics of the most eminent parts and interests, and in the end (though too late) expelled by them; it will be but justice to the memory of those noble persons, who themselves and their ancestors have been eminent assertors of the Roman religion; and never departed from a full submission to that church, briefly to recollect the sum of that unhappy person's carriage and behaviour, from the time that he was first designed to that employment, to the end that the Roman catholic religion and the Irish nation may discern what they owe to his activity and government, and that the world may judge how impossible it was for the marquis of Ormond to preserve a people, who so implicitly resigned themselves to the councils, directions, and disposal of such a nature and disposition: and in doing hereof, no other language shall be used than what was part of a memorial delivered by an honourable and zealous catholic, who was intrusted to complain of the insufferable behaviour of the nuncio to the pope himself, which runs in these very words; speaking of the nuncio he declared,

Memorial
to the pope
against the
nuncio.

“ That, before he left Rome, he would not admit,

“either in his company or his family, any person of
“the English nation. In his voyage, before he ar-
“rived at Paris, he wrote to his friends in Rome,
“with great joy, the news (although it proved after
“false) that the Irish confederates had treacherously
“surprised the city of Dublin, while they were in
“truce with the royal party, and treating about an
“accommodation and peace. Arriving at Paris,
“(where he shut himself up for many months,) he
“never vouchsafed (I will not say) to participate
“with the queen of England any thing touching
“his nunciature, but not in the least degree to re-
“verence or visit her majesty, (save only one time
“upon the score of courtesy,) as if he had been sent
“to her capital enemy, and not to her own subjects.
“Being arrived in Ireland, he employed presently
“all his power to dissolve that treaty of peace with
“the king, which was then almost brought to per-
“fection, and his diligence succeeded; on which he
“valued himself, rejoiced and insulted beyond mea-
“sure, in the letters he wrote to Paris, which were
“after shewed to the queen: and he may say truly,
“that in that kingdom he hath rather managed the
“royal sceptre, than the pastoral staff; for that he
“hath aimed more to be held the minister of the
“supreme prince of Ireland *in temporalibus*, than a
“nuncio from the pope *in spiritualibus*: making
“himself president of the council, he hath managed
“the affairs of the supreme council of state; he hath
“by his own arbitrement excluded from it those
“who did not second him, although, by nobleness
“of birth, by allegiance, by prudence, and by zeal
“to religion, they were the most honourable; and
“only because they shewed themselves faithful sub-

jects to their natural prince, and friends to the quiet of their country; of these he hath caused many to be imprisoned, with great scandal and danger of sedition: in short, he hath assumed a distributive power both in civil and military affairs, giving out orders, commissions, and powers under his own name, subscribed by his own hand, and made authentic with his seal for the government of the armies, and of the state, and commissions for reprisals at sea. He struck in, presently after his arrival in Ireland, with that party of the natives who are esteemed not only irreconcilable with the English, but with the greatest and best part of the Irish nobility, as likewise with the most civil and most considerable people of that island; and the better to support that party and faction, he hath procured the church to be furnished with a clergy and bishops of the same temper, excluding those persons who were recommended by the queen, and who for doctrine and virtue were above all exceptions; and all this contrary to what your holiness was pleased to promise. The queen was not yet discouraged, but so laboured to renew the treaty of peace, already once broken and disordered by monsieur Rinuccini, that, by means of her majesty, it was not only reassumed, but in the end, after great difficulty and opposition on his part, the peace was concluded between the royal party and the confederate catholics, and warranted not only by the king's word, but also by the restitution of arms, castles, and forts, and of the civil magistrates, with the possession of churches and of ecclesiastical benefices, and with the free exercise of the catholic

“ religion ; and all this should have been established
“ by a public decree, and authentic laws made by
“ the three estates assembled in a free parliament :
“ by this peace and confederacy they would have
“ rescued themselves from the damages of a ruinous
“ war ; have purchased security to their consciences
“ and to their temporal estates ; succoured the royal
“ party and the catholics in England with a certain
“ restitution and liberty of the king, whereon de-
“ pended absolutely the welfare of the catholics in
“ all his kingdoms ; the apostolical chair had quitted
“ itself of all engagements and expense with honour
“ and glory. This treaty of peace, on all sides so
“ desirable, monsieur Rinuccini broke with such vio-
“ lence, that he forced the marquis of Ormond, vice-
“ roy of Ireland, to precipitate himself (contrary to
“ his affections and inclinations) into the arms of
“ the parliament of England, to the unspeakable
“ damage of the king and of the catholics, not only
“ of Ireland, but also of England ; and he incensed
“ the greatest and best part of the Irish nobility,
“ and rendered the venerable name of the holy apo-
“ stolic chair odious to the heretics, with small sa-
“ tisfaction to the catholic princes themselves of Eu-
“ rope ; as though it sought not the spiritual good
“ of souls, but a temporal interest, by making itself
“ lord over Ireland : and when the lord Digby and
“ the lord Biron endeavoured, on the marquis of
“ Ormond’s part, to incline him to a new treaty of
“ peace, he did not only disdain to admit them, or
“ to accept the overture ; but understanding that
“ the lord Biron was with great danger and fatigue
“ come to a town in the county of Westmeath, where
“ he was, to speak with him, he forced the earl, that

“ was the chief lord of it, to send him away (con-
 “ trary to all laws of courtesy and humanity) in the
 “ night time, exposed to extraordinary inconveni-
 “ ences and dangers amongst those distractions, pro-
 “ testing, that otherwise he himself would immedi-
 “ ately depart the town. By these proceedings, mon-
 “ sieur Rinuccini hath given the world occasion to
 “ believe, that he had private and secret commis-
 “ sions to change the government of Ireland, and to
 “ separate that island from the crown of England;
 “ and this opinion is the more confirmed, since that
 “ one Mahoni^c, a Jesuit, hath printed a book in
 “ Portugal, wherein he endeavours to prove, that all
 “ the kings of England have been either tyrants or
 “ usurpers of Ireland, and so fallen from the domi-
 “ nion of it, exhorting all its natives to get thither,
 “ and to use all cruelty against the English, with
 “ expressions full of villainy and reproach, and to
 “ choose a new king of their own country; and this
 “ book, so barbarous and bloody, dispersed through
 “ Ireland, is as yet tolerated by the catholic and
 “ apostolic chair: and the Continuation of the His-
 “ tory of Cardinal Baronius was published at the
 “ same time, under the name of Oldericco Raynaldo;
 “ in the which he positively endeavours to establish
 “ the supreme right and dominion of the apostolical
 “ chair, even *in temporalibus*, over England and
 “ Ireland. I leave to every man to consider, whe-
 “ ther all these actions are not apt enough to beget
 “ jealousies and to breed naughty blood; and whe-
 “ ther I ought not, out of a great respect to the
 “ public good, to represent with some ardency to

^c In MS.: Marcello, or some such name

“ your holiness the actions of monsieur Rinuccini,
“ so unseasonable, and directly contrary to those
“ ends for which it is supposed he was employed:
“ and I beseech your holiness to consider, if any
“ king, not only protestant but even catholic, had
“ seen an apostolic nuncio to lord it in his domi-
“ nions in such a manner as monsieur Rinuccini hath
“ done in Ireland, what jealousies, what complaints,
“ and how many inconveniences would thereby fol-
“ low?”

This was part of that remonstrance presented to the pope himself, by an eminent catholic minister of great reputation, on behalf of the catholics of Ireland; who, instead of being relieved and supported, were oppressed and destroyed by the nuncio: and I presume this extract will be of greater authority and credit with the world, to inform them of the proceedings there, than any thing scattered abroad in an unowned pamphlet can be towards the incensing them against persons of honour, whom they know not; and I heartily wish that the passion and unskilfulness of that haughty prelate may either have an influence upon the catholics to discern the exceeding ill consequence that must naturally attend such violent and unnatural interpositions; and how it may alienate the affections of princes from complying with a power that will prescribe no modest or civil limits and bounds to itself, and incline the affections of protestants to animosities or uncharitable conclusions, that the papal chair affects a sovereignty over the hearts of her children, which is inconsistent with that duty which they owe to their princes; and thereupon to abhor a conjunction with those to whom they should perform all the duties

and offices of Christian love and friendship; and with whom they ought to constitute a joint subjection and allegiance to the king, according to the laws and policy of the kingdom, of which they are subjects.

The mar-
quis in vain
solicits sup-
plies from
France.

Arrives in
Ireland with
a small re-
tinue.

After the marquis of Ormond had in vain solicited a supply of money in France, to the end that he might carry some relief to a kingdom so harassed and worn, and be the better able to unite those, who would be sure to have temptations enough of profit to the contrary, to the king's obedience; he was at last compelled, being with great importunity called for by the lord Inchiquin, and the rest who upheld his majesty's interest, to transport himself, unfurnished with money, arms, or ammunition, and without any other retinue than his own servants, and three or four friends: and in this equipage he arrived in Ireland about the end of September, in the year 1648, and landed at Cork, where he was received by the lord Inchiquin, lord president in the province of Munster. It must not be forgotten, that during the time the marquis was in France, and after the parliament forces had, upon so great inequality of numbers, defeated the Irish, and in all encounters driven them into their fastnesses, the confederate catholics had easily discerned the mischiefs they had brought upon themselves, by forcing the king's authority out of the kingdom, and introducing the other, which had no purposes of mercy towards them; therefore they had sent the lord marquis of Antrim, the lord viscount Muskerry, and others, as their commissioners, to the queen of England, and to her son the prince of Wales, who were both then at Paris; "to beseech them" (since

by reason of the king's imprisonment they could not be suffered to apply themselves to his majesty) "to take compassion of the miserable condition of Ireland, and to restore that nation to their protection;" making ample professions and protestations of duty, and of applying themselves for the future to his majesty's service, if they might once again be owned by him, and countenanced and conducted by his authority. Thereupon the queen and prince had answered those persons, that they would shortly send a person qualified to treat with them, who should have power to give them whatsoever was requisite to their security and happiness; with which answer they returned well satisfied into Ireland: so that as soon as the lord lieutenant was landed at Cork, he wrote to the assembly of the confederate catholics then at Kilkenny, that he was, upon the humble petition which they had presented to the queen and prince, come with full power to conclude a peace with them; and to that purpose desired that as little time might be lost as was possible, but that commissioners might be sent to him to his house at Carrick, whither he would go to expect them, being within fourteen miles of the place where the assembly then sat; who were so much the gladder of his presence, by the obligation they had newly received from the king's authority: for when the nuncio and Owen O'Neal had thought to have surprised them, and to have compelled them to renounce the cessation, the lord Inchiquin, being sent to by them for his protection, had marched with his army to their relief, and forced O'Neal to retire over the Shannon, and thereby restored them to liberty and freedom: so that they returned a message of joy and congra-

Writes to
the assembly
at Kilkenny.

Commis-
sioners sent
to treat with
the marquis.

tulation to the lord lieutenant for his safe arrival, and appointed commissioners to treat with him at the place he had appointed. It was the nineteenth of October that the commissioners came to Carrick, the house of the marquis, where they continued about twenty days, which they spent principally in the matter of religion; in treating whereof, they were so bound and limited by their instructions, and could make so little progress of themselves, being still to give account to the assembly of whatsoever was proposed or offered by the lord lieutenant, and to expect its determination and direction before they proceeded, that for the husbanding of time, which was now very precious, (the rebels of England every day more discovering their bloody purposes towards the king,) the assembly thought fit to desire the marquis to repair to his own castle at Kilkenny, which they offered to deliver into his hands; and that for his honour and security, he should bring his own guards, who should have that reception that was due to them: and upon this invitation, about the middle of November, he went to Kilkenny; before his entry into which, he was met by the whole body of the assembly, and all the nobility, clergy, and gentry residing there; and in the town was received with all those requisite ceremonies, by the mayor and aldermen, as such a corporation use to pay to the supreme authority of the kingdom: so that a greater evidence could not be given of an entire union in the desire of returning to the king's obedience, or of more affection and respect to the person of the lord lieutenant, who (by his steady pursuing those professions he had always made; by his neglect and contempt of the rebels,

The mar-
quis invited
to Kilkenny
by the as-
sembly.

and their prodigious power whilst he was in England; and by his refusing all the overtures made by them unto him for his particular benefit, if he would live in the kingdom, and by their declared and manifest hatred and malice towards him) was now superior to all those calumnies they had aspersed him with, and confessed him to be worthy of a joint trust from the most different and divided interests and designs. However, there were so many passions, humours, and interests to be complied with, and all conclusions to pass the approbation of so many votes, that it was the middle of January before all opinions could be so reconciled, as to produce a perfect and entire compact and agreement; which about that time passed with that miraculous consent and unity, that in the whole assembly, in which were the catholic bishops, there was not one dissenting voice: so that on the seventeenth of January, the whole assembly repaired to the presence of the lord lieutenant, in his castle at Kilkenny; and there, with all solemnity imaginable, presented him, by the hand of their chairman, or speaker, the articles of peace, as concluded, assented, and submitted to by the whole body of the catholic nation of Ireland; which he received and solemnly confirmed on his majesty's behalf, and caused the same that day to be proclaimed in that town, to the great joy of all that were present; and it was with all speed accordingly proclaimed, and as joyfully received in all the cities and corporate towns which professed any allegiance to the king throughout the kingdom: and for the better reception thereof among the people, and to manifest the satisfaction and joy they took in it, the catholic bishops sent out

Peace concluded.

their letters and declarations, that they were abundantly satisfied in whatsoever concerned religion and the secure practice thereof.

When the articles of peace were presented in that solemn manner to him by the assembly, after the speech made by the presenter, the lord lieutenant expressed himself in these words to them.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

Lord lieutenant's
speech to
the assembly.

“ I shall not speak to these expressions of duty
“ and loyalty, digested into a discourse by the gen-
“ tleman appointed by you to deliver your sense;
“ you will presently have in your hands greater and
“ more solid arguments of his majesty's gracious ac-
“ ceptance, than I can commemorate, or, perhaps,
“ yourselves discover: for besides the provision
“ made against the remotest fears, fear of severity of
“ certain laws, and besides many freedoms and
“ bounties conveyed to you and your posterity by
“ these articles, there is a door, and that a large
“ one, not left, but purposely set open to give you
“ entrance, by your future merit, to whatsoever of
“ honour and advantage you can reasonably wish:
“ so that you have in present fruition what may
“ abundantly satisfy, and yet there are no bounds
“ set to your hopes, but you are rather invited, or,
“ to use another phrase, (but to another and better
“ purpose,) you seem to have a call from Heaven, to
“ exercise your arms and uttermost fortitude, in the
“ noblest and justest cause the world hath seen;
“ for, let all the circumstances incident to a great
“ and good cause be examined, and they will be
“ found comprehended in that which you now are
“ warrantably called to defend. Religion, not in

“ the narrow circumscribed definition of it, by this
“ or that late found out name, but Christian reli-
“ gion is our quarrel; which certainly is as much
“ and totally struck at (I may say more) by the
“ blasphemous licence of this age, than ever it was
“ by the rudest incursions of the most barbarous
“ and avowed enemies to Christianity; the vene-
“ rable laws, and the fundamental constitutions of
“ our ancestors are trodden under impious and (for
“ the most part) mechanic feet! the sacred person
“ of our king (the life of those laws, and head of
“ those constitutions) is under an ignominious im-
“ prisonment, and his life threatened to be taken
“ away by the sacrilegious hands of the basest of
“ the people that owe him obedience! and (to en-
“ dear the quarrel unto you) the fountain of all the
“ benefits you have but now acknowledged, and
“ which you may further hope for by this peace,
“ and your own merit, is in danger to be obstructed
“ by the execrable murder of the worthiest prince
“ that ever ruled these islands! In short, hell can
“ add nothing to the desperate mischiefs now openly
“ projected. And now judge if a greater and more
“ glorious field was ever set open to action, and then
“ prepare yourselves to enter into it, receiving those
“ few advices from him that is thoroughly embarked
“ with you in the adventure.

“ First, let me recommend to you, that to this, as
“ to all holy actions, (as certainly this is,) you will
“ prepare yourselves with perfect charity; a charity
“ that may obliterate whatever rancour the long
“ continued war may have contracted in you against
“ any that shall now cooperate with you in so blessed
“ a work: and let his engagement with you in this

“ (whoever he is) be, as it ought to be, a bond of
“ unity, of love, and of concord, stronger than the
“ nearest tie of nature.

“ In the next place, mark and beware of those
“ who shall go about to renew jealousies in you, un-
“ der what pretence soever, and account such as the
“ infernal ministers employed to promote the black
“ design on foot, to subject monarchy, and to make
“ us all slaves to their own avaricious lusts. Away,
“ as soon and as much as possible may be, with
“ distinctions of nations and parties, which are the
“ fields wherein the seeds of those rancorous weeds
“ are sown by the great enemy of our peace.

“ In the last place, let us all divest ourselves of
“ that preposterous and ridiculous ambition and
“ self-interest, which rather leads to our own threat-
“ ened general ruin, than to the enjoyment of ad-
“ vantages unreasonably desired ; and if at any time
“ you think yourselves pinched too near the bone
“ by those taxes and charges that may be imposed
“ for your defence, consider then how vain, how
“ foolish a thing it will be, to starve a righteous
“ cause for want of necessary support, to preserve
“ ourselves fat and gilded sacrifices to the rapine of
“ a merciless enemy. And if we come thus well
“ prepared to a contention so just on our part, God
“ will bless our endeavours with success and vic-
“ tory, or will crown our sufferings with honour and
“ patience : for what honour will it not be, (if God
“ hath so determined of us,) to perish with a long-
“ glorious monarchy ? And who can want patience
“ to suffer with an oppressed prince ? But as our
“ endeavours, so let our prayers be vigorous, that he
“ may be delivered from a more unnatural rebellion,

“(than is mentioned by any story,) now raised to
“the highest pitch of success against him.

“I should now say something to you as to my-
“self, in retribution to the advantageous mention
“made of me, and my endeavours in the bringing
“this settlement to pass; but I confess my thoughts
“are taken up with those much greater concern-
“ments: let it suffice, that as I wish to be con-
“tinued in your good esteem and affection, so I
“shall freely adventure upon any hazard, and
“esteem no trouble or difficulty too great to encoun-
“ter, if I may manifest any zeal to this cause, and
“discharge some part of the obligations that are
“upon me, to serve this kingdom.”

It will not be here necessary to insert the articles of the peace, which are publicly known to the world; it is enough to say, that the lord lieutenant not only granted all that was in the judgment of the Roman catholic bishops, and even of the bishop of Fernes, requisite to the peaceable, secure profession of that religion, with such countenance of, and support to it, as from the first planting of it it had never (in some respects) been possessed of in that kingdom; but was likewise compelled so far to comply with the fears and jealousies of men, (who, by often breaking their faith, and from a greater guilt, were apprehensive that all that was promised to them might not be hereafter observed,) as to divest himself of that full and absolute power that was inherent in his office, and was never more fit to be exercised than for the carrying on of that design, in which they seemed all to agree, and to make twelve commissioners (named and chosen by the assembly to look to

the observation and performance of the said articles, until the same should be ratified by the king in a full and peaceable convention of parliament) joint sharers with him in his authority; so that he could neither levy soldiers, raise money, nor so much as erect garrisons, without the approbation and consent of the major part of those commissioners: the danger and mischief of which limitation and restraint he foresaw enough, but found the uniting that people, and the composing them to an entire confidence in the peace, (which could be compassed no other way,) was so necessary, that he could not sacrifice too much to it: and then the affections and abilities of the commissioners were so well known and approved by him, that having most of them the same good end with him, he presumed he should, with the less difficulty, be able to persuade them which were the nearest and most natural ways that conduced thereunto.

O'Neal refuses to submit to the peace.

With what consent and unity soever this peace was made, by those who had any pretence to trust, or to whom there was the least deputation of authority and power by the nation, yet Owen O'Neal (who had the greatest influence upon the humours and inclinations of the old Irish, who had given themselves up to the nuncio, and who indeed had a better disciplined, and consequently a stronger army, at his command, than the confederate catholics had at their devotion) still refused to submit to it; so that the lord lieutenant, as soon as the peace was concluded, was as well to provide against him, to remove some garrisons he held, which infested those who obeyed the acts of the assembly, and to prevent his incursions, as to raise an army against

the spring, with which to march against the English rebels, who were possessed of Dublin, and all the country and important places in that circuit, and who, he was sure, would be supplied with all the assistance of shipping, men, money, victuals, and ammunition, which the inhuman and bloody rebels of England (who had now murdered their sovereign, and incorporated themselves under the name and title of a commonwealth) could send to them: and he was in a worse condition to prevail against both these, by the unhappy temper and constitution of the Scots in Ulster, who being very numerous, and possessed of considerable towns, though they abhorred the English rebels, and were not reconcilable to Owen O'Neal and his army, were yet as uninclined to the peace made with the confederate catholics, and far from paying an obedience and full submission to the orders and government of the lord lieutenant, maintaining at the same time the presbyterian form in the church, and an utter independency in the state; and out of those contradictory ingredients, compounding such a peevish and wayward affection and duty to the king, as could not be applied to the bearing any part in the great work the marquis was incumbent to. So that whosoever will wisely revolve and consider this wild conjuncture of affairs, and that towards the subduing the power, strength, and wealth of the English rebels, and the equal malice and hardness of Owen O'Neal and his party, as much, or, in truth, more contracted against the confederate catholics than the king's authority, and to the forcing and disposing the useless and unprofitable pretences of affection in the Scots, and reducing them to obedience,

The many difficulties the marquis had to struggle with.

the marquis brought over with him neither men nor money, nor any advantage but that of his own person, wisdom, and reputation, and was now, upon the peace, to constitute an army, not only of several nations and religions, and of much passion and superciousness in those opinions which flowed from their several religions, but of such men, who had, for above the space of eight years, prosecuted a sharp war against each other, with all the circumstances of animosity, rapine, and revenge, and who were now brought into this reconciliation and conjunction, rather by the wonderful wisdom and dexterity of the principal commanders, than by their own charity and inclinations; and that, in the forming of this army, he had not above six or seven officers, upon whose skill in martial affairs, and affection to him, he could, with any confidence, depend, but was to make use of very many who were utterly unknown to him, and such, who either had no experience in war, or who had always been in arms against him; I say, whosoever without passion considers all this, will rather wonder that the marquis did not sink under the weight of the first attempt, and that he could proceed with success in any one enterprise, than that an army so made up should, upon the first misadventure, be dissolved into jealousies and prejudices amongst themselves, and that all the confusions should follow, which naturally attend such compositions.

As soon as the peace was thus concluded, proclaimed, and accepted, the lord lieutenant took a survey of the stores of arms and ammunition, and other provisions necessary for the army, which was to be brought together in the spring, and found all very

short of what he expected, and (what, in truth, was absolutely necessary to the work) the ways for raising money, with which all the rest was to be supplied, in no degree to be depended on: the cities and incorporate towns, where, upon the matter, all the wealth was, having never submitted further to the general assembly, than by declaring themselves to be of their party, but like so many several commonwealths, ordered all contributions and payments of money by their own acts and determinations; nor would, upon the most emergent occasion, suffer any money to be raised in any other proportion, or in any other manner, than best agreed with their own humour and conveniencies: so that the commissioners advised and besought the lord lieutenant to make a journey in person to such of those corporations as were best able to assist him, and, by his own presence and interest, to endeavour to persuade them to express that affection for the peace that they had professed. Thereupon he went, with a competent number of the commissioners, to Waterford, and from thence to Limerick, and then to Galway; from which several places he procured the loan of more money, corn, and ammunition, than the general assembly had ever been able to do; and by this means, which cost him much labour and time, he found himself in a condition to draw the several forces together; which he did about the beginning of May, having made the lord Inchiquin, lieutenant general of the army; the earl of Castlehaven, lieutenant general of the horse; and the lord Taaffe, general of the artillery: and it being thought fit to lose as little time as might be in marching towards Dublin, as soon as any consider-

Lord lieutenant borrows money of the towns.

Promotions in the army.

Earl of
Castle-
haven takes
some of
O'Neal's
garrisons.

Rendezvous
of the army.

* Sir Jam.
Preston.

able numbers of men were come together, he sent the earl of Castlehaven with them, to take in several garrisons which were possessed by Owen O'Neal in the Queen's county, which was the way he intended to march, and so would have no enemy in his rear; and accordingly the earl took the fort of Maryborough, and other places in that county, and Athy and Reban, in the county of Kildare, whereby the passage was opened for their further march. Having in this manner begun the campaign, the lord lieutenant appointed a general rendezvous of the whole army at Cloghgrenan, a house of his own upon the river of Barrow, near the castle of Catherlough, where he made a conjunction of all the forces, protestants and Roman catholics, who (by the wisdom and temper of the principal officers) mingled well enough, and together, about the end of May, made a body of three thousand seven hundred horse, and fourteen thousand five hundred foot, with a train of artillery, consisting of four pieces of ordnance: but when they were now met, all the money which could be raised by the commissioners, or which had been paid by the incorporate towns, was so near spent in drawing the soldiers out of their quarters, and in those short expeditions into the Queen's county, and county of Kildare, that they could not have advanced in their march, if the lord lieutenant had not, upon his private credit, borrowed the sum of eight hundred pounds sterling of a private * gentleman, (to whom the same still remains due,) by means whereof he gave the common soldiers four days' pay, and so marched about the beginning of June from Cloghgrenan, and the same evening appeared before Talbot's town, a strong

garrison of the enemy's, which, together with Castle Talbot, (two miles distant from the other,) was within three days surrendered to the marquis, upon promise of quarter. From thence he marched to Kildare, which town was likewise in a short time surrendered to him. Here he was compelled to stay three or four days, both for want of provision, and for a recruit of two thousand foot, which, by the lord Inchiquin's care and diligence, were then upon the march; and being joined, he was in hopes, by a sudden and speedy march, to have engaged Jones, who at that time was marched a good distance from Dublin with his army; and so encouraging his soldiers with three days' pay, (which he was likewise compelled to borrow on his credit, out of the pockets of persons of quality attending on him, and of the officers of the army,) he passed the river of Liffey; and Jones, having gotten intelligence of his motion, in great disorder raised his camp, and retired into Dublin.

The marquis takes in Talbot's town and Castle Talbot,

And Kildare.

Obliges Jones to raise his camp.

The marquis encamped his whole army at the Naas, twelve miles from Dublin, that he might maturely deliberate what was next to be undertaken or attempted, it being now about the middle of June; that which appeared worthy of debate was, whether the army should first make an attempt upon Dublin, in which it was believed there were very many, both officers and soldiers, and other persons of quality, well affected to the king's service, and who had formerly served under the marquis, and esteemed him accordingly, who might make that work the more easy; or whether it should be first applied to the taking in of Trym, Drogheda, and the other out garrisons, from whence the city received much pro-

Council of war.

Resolve to
attempt the
taking of
Dublin.

The lord
lieutenant
marches to-
wards Dub-
lin.

vision of all kinds, and from whence the provisions to the army would be cut off, and much other prejudice might ensue: but upon a full consideration, the council of war, which consisted of the general officers, inclined to the former, concluding that, if they could take Dublin, all the other places would quickly fall into their hands; and if they should delay it, and waste their provision in those lesser attempts, there might probably arrive out of England such supplies of men, money, and other necessities to the rebels, which were daily expected, as might render that important work almost impossible.

Hereupon the lord lieutenant marched the very next morning towards Dublin, and that afternoon repassed the whole army again over the river of Liffey, by the bridge of Lucan, and encamping near that place, to rest his men a few hours of the night, he marched very early in the morning, being the 19th of June, and appeared by nine of the clock at a place called Castle-Knock, in view of the city; and hearing that Jones had drawn out all his horse into a green, not far from the walls, he sent a party of horse and musketeers to face them, while he drew his whole body within less than cannon shot of their gates, hoping thereby to give some countenance to those in the town, to raise some commotion within; and having spent most part of the day in this posture and expectation, after some slight skirmishes between the horse, he found it necessary to draw off, and encamped that night at a place two miles from the town, called Finglass; whither great multitudes of the Roman catholics (whereof most were aged men, and women, and children, whom Jones had turned out of the city) repaired to him,

all whom he sent with all due order for their reception into the quarters adjacent.

The marquis was no sooner in his quarters, than he received sure intelligence that Jones had sent his horse to Drogheda, from whence they would have been able to have distressed his army several ways, and to have intercepted the provisions which came out of the country out of the magazines, which were at least thirty miles distant; and the principal officers of the army were of opinion, upon the view they had taken that day of the enemy, and the countenance they had observed of their own men, that they were not sufficiently provided for a formal siege, and as ill to attack the town upon a brisk attempt; and therefore he resolved to remain encamped at that place for some time, whereby he might take the advantage of any opportunity they within the town would administer unto him; and presently sent the lord Inchiquin, lieutenant general of the army, with a strong party of horse to pursue the rebels' horse, which were sent for Drogheda; which he did so successfully, that he surprised one whole troop, and afterwards encountered colonel Coote in the head of three hundred horse, whereof he slew many, and routed the rest; who, in a disordered haste, fled into Drogheda. The lord Inchiquin presently sent advertisement of his success, and that he had reason to believe, that if he pursued this advantage, and made an attempt on the town while this terror possessed the rebels, he should make himself master of it.

Lord Inchiquin defeats a body of Jones's horse.

Whereupon, and in respect of the great importance of the place, the reduction whereof would produce a secure correspondence with, and give a great

Takes Drogheda.

encouragement to, the Scots in Ulster; who made great professions of duty to the king, and had now, under the conduct of the lord viscount Montgomery of the Ardes, driven sir Charles Coote into the city of Londonderry, and, upon the matter, beleaguered him there; the lord lieutenant, by the advice of the council of war, approved the design, and to that purpose sent him two good regiments of foot, and two pieces of artillery, and such ammunition and materials as could be spared; wherewith he proceeded so vigorously, that within seven days he compelled the rebels to yield upon quarter, and reduced the town to the king's obedience.

There was now very reasonable ground for hope, that the English rebels would quickly find themselves in notable straits and distresses; when it was on a sudden discovered how very active and dexterous the spirit of rebellion is to reconcile and unite those who were possessed by it, (how contrary soever their principles and ends seem to be,) and to contribute jointly to the opposing and oppressing that lawful power, which they had both equally injured and provoked.

The parliament party, who had heaped so many reproaches and calumnies upon the king for his clemency to the Irish, who had founded their own authority and strength upon such foundations as were inconsistent with any toleration of the Roman catholic religion, and even with any humanity towards the Irish nation, and more especially towards those of the old native extraction, the whole race whereof they had, upon the matter, sworn to extirpate; and Owen O'Neal himself being of that most ancient sept, and his whole army consisting only of such who

avowed no other cause for their first entrance into rebellion, but matter of religion, and "that the power of the parliament was like to be so prevalent and great, that the king himself would not be able to extend his mercy and favours towards them, which they seemed to be confident he was, in his own gracious disposition, inclined to express, and therefore professed to take up arms against that exorbitant power only of them, and to retain hearts full of devotion and duty to his majesty;" and who, at present, by underhand and secret treaties with the lord lieutenant, seemed more irreconciled to the proceedings of the general assembly, and to the persons of those who he thought governed there, than to make any scruple of submitting to the king's authority, in the person of the marquis, to which and to whom he protested all duty and reverence: these two so contrary and disagreeing elements had, I say, by the subtle and volatile spirit of hypocrisy and rebellion, found a way to incorporate together; and Owen O'Neal had promised and contracted with the other, that he would compel the lord lieutenant to retire and draw off his army from about Dublin, by his invading with his army those parts of Leinster and Munster which yielded most, or indeed all, the provisions and subsistence to the marquis, and which he presumed the marquis would not leave to be spoiled and desolated by his incursions: for the better doing whereof, and enabling him for this expedition, colonel Monke, governor of Dundalk, (and who was the second person in command among the English rebels,) had promised to deliver him, out of the stores of that garrison, a good quantity of powder, bullet, and match

O'Neal acts
in concert
with the
English
rebels.

Inchiquin
defeats a
body of
O'Neal's
army.

proportionable; for the fetching whereof, Owen O'Neal had sent Farrell, the lieutenant general of his army, with a party of five hundred foot and three hundred horse, at the same time that Drogheda was taken by the lord Inchiquin; who, being there advertised of that new contracted friendship, resolved to give some interruption to it, and made so good haste, that within few hours after Farrell had received the ammunition at Dundalk, he fell upon him, and routed all his horse, and of the five hundred foot, there were not forty that escaped, but were either slain or taken prisoners, and got all the ammunition, and with it so good an account of the present state of Dundalk, that he immediately encamped before it, and in two days compelled Monke (who would else have been delivered up by his own

Takes Dun-
dalk.

soldiers) to surrender the place; where was a good magazine of ammunition, clothes, and other necessaries for the war, most of the officers and soldiers with all alacrity engaging themselves in his majesty's service.

And re-
duces other
garrisons.

Upon this success, the lesser garrisons of Newry, Narrow Water, Green Castle, and Carlingford, were easily subjected; and the lord Inchiquin, in his return, being appointed to visit Trym, the only garrison left to the rebels in those parts, except Dublin, in two days after he had besieged it, made himself master of it, and so returned with his party (not impaired by the service) to the lord lieutenant, in his camp at Finglass.

O'Neal re-
lieves the
English re-
bels in Lon-
donderry.

Owen O'Neal still continued his affection to the English rebels; and when he found that his design of drawing the king's army from Dublin could not succeed, he hasted into Ulster, and upon the pay-

ment of two thousand pounds in money, some ammunition, and about two thousand cows, he raised the siege of Londonderry, the only considerable place in that province that held for the English rebels, and which was even then reduced to extremity by the lord viscount Montgomery of the Ardes, and must in few days have submitted to the king's authority, if it had not been in that manner relieved by the unfortunate Irish.

All the places of moment near Dublin being thus reduced, and the lord Inchiquin having put competent garrisons into them, and yet returned into the camp with a stronger party than he marched out with, on the 24th day of July, the marquis took a view of his whole army, and found it to consist of no less than seven thousand foot, and about four thousand horse, which, though a good force, was not equal to the work of forming a regular siege of so large and populous a city as Dublin, and as unfit to storm it; therefore it was resolved still to continue the former design of straitening it, until the necessities within abated the obstinacy of that people: for the better doing whereof, the lord viscount Dillon, of Costello, was appointed to remain still on the north side of the town with a body of two thousand foot and five hundred horse, to block it up, having two or three small places of strength to retire unto upon any occasion; and the lord lieutenant, the next day, marched with the remainder of the army over the river of Liffey, to the south side, to a place called Rathmines, where he resolved to encamp, and from whence, by reason of the narrowness of the river, he might discourage any attempt of sending relief into the town by sea from England; and, in

Lord lieutenant reviews his army.

Encamps at Rathmines.

Supplies to
the rebels
arrive at
Dublin.

truth, if he had come time enough to have raised a work upon a point there, some interruption might have been given to that enterprise: but it pleased God that the very same day (the 25th of July) the marquis marched thither, and in the sight of his army, as it marched, a strong gale of wind from the east brought into Dublin colonel Reynold and colonel Venables, with a good supply of horse and foot, money, and all other necessities whereof the garri-son stood in need, which marvellously exalted the spirits of all those who were devoted to the obedience of the rebels, and depressed the minds of those who watched all opportunities of doing service to the king: however, the marquis pursued his resolution, and encamped that night at Rathmines, and the next day made himself strong there, till upon information (he was sure to receive of the enemy's state and condition) he might better conclude what was next to be done.

There were many honest men within the city, who still found means to send the marquis advertisement of what was necessary for him to know; and the same ships that brought supplies from and for the rebels brought likewise intelligence from those that wished well to the king's service, to the lord lieutenant, and to other persons of honour who were with him, and from several persons of known integrity, and who were like enough to know what was transacted in the council of the rebels, it was informed that this supply which was already landed at Dublin was all that was intended for that place, and believed to be sufficient to defend it against any army the marquis could bring to attack it; and that Cromwell, who was enough known to be ready in

England to embark with a great army, meant to land in Munster, a country but lately fallen from their devotion, and where there were still too many inclined to him, and thereby to compel the lord lieutenant to rise from Dublin : and it is very true, that at that time Cromwell was resolved to have proceeded in that manner. Upon this joint intelligence, for it came from some persons to the lord lieutenant, and from others to the lord Inchiquin, it was upon a consultation with the general officers concluded absolutely necessary that the lord Inchiquin, being Inchiquin sent into Munster. president of Munster, should immediately, with a strong party of horse, repair into that province, whereby at least the garrisons there might be supported against any sudden attempt of the enemy, if they should land there ; and that the army being thus weakened by the quality as well as the number of this party, (who were the best horse of the body,) the lord lieutenant should retire to Drumnah, being a quarter of greater strength than that of Rathmines was or could be made, and at such distance as might as well block up the enemy as the other, and from whence an uninterrupted communication might be had with that party which was left on the north side of the river ; and upon this conclusion the lord Inchiquin departed towards Munster.

When it was known that the army was to retire, the officers and soldiers expressed much trouble, and seemed to believe the reducing of the town not to be a matter of that difficulty as was pretended : if they could hinder the rebels' horse from grazing in the meadows near the walls, which was the only place they were possessed of to that purpose, they could not be able to subsist five days ; and it would

be in their power to take that benefit from them, if they possessed themselves of a castle called Baggatrath, very near adjoining to that pasture, which was already so strong, that in one night it might be sufficiently fortified: and this discourse (which was not indeed unreasonable) got so much credit, that the council of war entreated the marquis to decline his former resolution of retiring to Drumnah; general Preston, sir Arthur Aston, and major general Purcell, having viewed the place, and assuring the lord lieutenant that it might be possessed and sufficiently fortified in one night.

It is no wonder that in an army thus constituted and composed, the marquis thought not fit by his authority to restrain them from pursuing an enterprise of so much gallantry, and which had so much possibility of success; and indeed he still retained some hopes of advantage by the affections of the city; and that even in those last supplies that were sent over, there were many who laid hold of that opportunity to transport themselves for the advancement of the king's service, and with a purpose quickly to change their masters; so that he was contented to recede from his former resolution; and on the first of August, at night, sent a strong party to possess themselves of Baggatrath, and with such materials as were necessary to fortify it: and because he concluded that the enemy would immediately discover what they were doing, and would use their utmost endeavours to prevent the execution of a design which would bring such irreparable damage to them, he gave strict order for drawing the whole army into battalia, and commanded that they should stand in arms all that night, himself continuing in

Attempt to
take and
fortify Bag-
gatrath.

the field on horseback till morning. As soon as it was day he went to visit the place that was to be fortified, which he found not in that condition he expected: the officer excused himself by having been misguided in the night, so that it was very late before he arrived there; wherewith the marquis being unsatisfied, displaced the officer who commanded the party, and put another of good name and reputation into the charge, and appointed him to make his men work hard, since it appeared, that in four or five hours it might be so well fortified, that they need fear no attempt from the town: and that they might be sure to enjoy so much time, he commanded the army to remain in the same posture they had been all the night; and about nine of the clock, seeing no appearance of any sally from the town, which he had so long expected, he went to his tent to refresh himself with a little rest; which he had not obtained for the space of an hour, when he was awakened by an alarm from the enemy, and putting himself immediately on his horse, quickly found that his officers had not been so punctual in their duty as they ought to have been, but had quitted their posts as soon as the marquis went to repose himself, (out of an unhappy confidence that the rebels would not adventure at that time of the day to make any sally;) so that a strong party out of the town, at ten of the clock in the morning, marched directly to Bagga-trath, and with less opposition than ought to have been made, beat, routed, and dispersed the party that possessed it; who, finding their horse not so ready to assist them as they expected, quitted the place with all imaginable confusion, which encouraged the rebels (who were seconded immediately

The fatal
battle of
Rathmines.

by the whole power in Dublin) to advance further towards the army, (which they discerned to be in high disorder,) than at their coming out they intended.

The lord lieutenant used all means to put the horse in order, sending the lord Taaffe to command the foot; but sir William Vaughan, commissary general of the horse, being in the first charge killed, they who followed him were immediately routed: whereupon so general a consternation seized upon the spirits of all the rest, that the marquis could prevail with none to stand with him, but the regiment of his brother, colonel Butler, and colonel Grady, with which he charged the enemy; wherein colonel Grady being slain, and his brother sore wounded and taken prisoner, that body was likewise entirely broken; and from that time it was not in his power, by all the means he could use, to rally any part of horse, or to make them so much as to stand by him: so that when he was even environed with the enemy, and attended only with very few of his own servants, and two or three gentlemen, he was forced to make his way through them, and to quit the field; when that small body of foot which still kept their ground, and valiantly defended themselves, finding that they were deserted by their horse, were compelled to surrender their arms to the rebels; the lord Taaffe making his own way so prosperously, that he got to the north side, where he found that body which had been left there in arms, and used all the possible endeavours he could to persuade them to attempt the recovery of what was lost, which in so great disorder of the enemy (as such success usually produces) had not

been reasonably to be despaired of: but the apprehensions and jealousies, the fright and terror, was so universal, that he could not incline them to it, nor do more (and that in confusion enough) than to provide for their own security.

This was the unhappy, and, indeed, fatal defeat of Rathmines, which was the first and only loss that ever fell upon any army or party of which the marquis had the name and title (and God knows he had here no more than the name) of the supreme commander, and these the whole circumstances of it; so that what fault, defect, or oversight of his contributed thereunto, or what he could have done more to have prevented it, malice itself cannot suggest: and for the matter of itself, though it must be and is confessed, that many officers and soldiers of the army did not that day discharge their trust with diligence and integrity, or fight with any tolerable courage, and were on a sudden more confounded with fear and amazement, than was to be expected from the cause they were to defend, and from their own behaviour in former actions; yet the success on the rebels' side was in no degree wonderful, the advantage in number being theirs, they who sallied out of the town and were upon the field being effectively six thousand foot and one thousand nine hundred horse; and the army encamped at Rathmines were not near so strong in horse or foot, and therefore it is nothing strange, that so well governed and disciplined soldiers, under good officers, should overcome a less number of raw, new levied, and unpractised men, under unexperienced officers, though possessed of some advantage of ground; nor can the unfitness and unskilfulness of the officers be imputed to want

of care in the marquis; since they were not only such upon whose interest the men were raised and brought together, and so consequently had a kind of dependency upon them; but such as were recommended particularly to him by the general assembly: and how unsatisfied they were with all other officers than those who were recommended by themselves; and how violently they protested against them, of how great reputation soever they were for courage, conduct, and constant and unblemished integrity to the king's service, the ensuing discourse will sufficiently set forth and declare.

After this
defeat the
lord lieu-
tenant re-
tires to
Kilkenny.

Takes in
Ballysonan
in his
march;

When the marquis found the consternation to be so great in his soldiers who fled away, that no considerable number could be got together to make any stand, though at some miles distance from the action, and that the other part of the army on Finglass side, who had seen no enemy, could but be contained from dispersing, he sent them orders to march to Trym and Drogheda, for the strengthening of those garrisons, which he believed Jones might, upon the pride of his late success, be inclined to attack; and himself went to Kilkenny, as the fittest rendezvous to which he might rally his broken and scattered forces, and from whence he might best give orders and directions for the making of new levies: and in his march thither, the very next day after the defeat at Rathmines, he made an halt with those few horse which he had rallied together, and summoned the strong fort of Ballysonan, which he had before blocked up by a party of horse and foot, and having found means to persuade the governor to believe that Dublin had been surrendered, and that his army was returning, he got that important place

into his hands; without which stratagem, Jones would have pursued his conquest even to Kilkenny itself, which he had found in a very ill condition to defend itself; and in a whole week's time, after his coming to Kilkenny, he could draw together but three hundred horse, with which he found it necessary, just eight days after the defeat, to march in person to the relief of Drogheda, which, according to his expectation, was besieged by Jones, and defended by the lord Moore: upon the approach of the marquis no nearer than Trym, the siege was raised, and Jones returned to Dublin.

which prevents Jones's pursuit.

Obliges Jones to raise the siege of Drogheda.

His lordship entering Drogheda, whither he resolved to draw his army as soon as might be, issued out his orders accordingly, hoping in a short time, if no other misfortune intervened, to get a good body of men together, and to restrain those in Dublin from making any great advantage of their late victory. But he had been there very few days, when he received sure advertisement, that Cromwell was himself landed, with a great army of horse and foot, and with vast supplies of all kinds, at Dublin, where he arrived within less than a fortnight after the unfortunate defeat at Rathmines. The scene was now totally altered, and the war the lord lieutenant was to make could be only defensive, until the rebels should meet with a check in some enterprise, and his own men, by discipline and rest, and exercise of their arms, might again recover their spirits, and forget the fear they had contracted of the enemy: he took care therefore to repair the works and fortifications at Drogheda, (as well as in so short a time could be done,) and got as much provision into the town as was possible; and then, with the full ap-

Lord lieutenant receives advice of Cromwell's landing at Dublin.

Provides for the defence of Drogheda.

probation of all the commissioners, he made choice of sir Arthur Aston, a catholic, and a soldier of great experience and reputation, to be governor thereof, and put a garrison into it of two thousand foot, and a good regiment of horse, all choice men and old soldiers, with very many gentlemen and officers of good name and account, and supplied it with ammunition and all other provisions, as well as the governor himself desired: and having done so, he marched with his horse, and the small remainder of his foot, to Trym and Kilkenny, whither he had sent to the lord Inchiquin to bring up as many men as he could out of Munster, (now the apprehension of Cromwell's landing there was over,) and endeavoured from all parts to recruit his army, hoping, before the rebels should be able to reduce any of his garrisons, to be able to take the field.

It was about the beginning of September when Cromwell marched out of Dublin, and with his whole army came before Drogheda: of which the lord lieutenant was no sooner advertised, than he came to Trym to watch all opportunities to infest his quarters; and having a full confidence in the courage and experience of sir Arthur Aston, and the goodness and number of the garrison, that the rebels would not be able to get the town by an assault. But here again he found his expectation disappointed: the rebels resolved not to lose their time in a siege, and therefore, as soon as their summons was rejected, they made a breach with their cannon, and stormed the place; and though they were for some time stoutly resisted, and twice beaten off, in the end they entered, and pursued their victory with so much cruelty, that they put the whole garrison to

Cromwell
takes
Drogheda
by assault,
and puts
the gar-
rison to
the sword.

the sword, not sparing those, upon second thoughts, to whom in the heat of the action they promised and gave quarter: so that except some few, who, during the time of the assault, escaped at the other side of the town; and others, who, by mingling with the rebels as their own men, so disguised themselves that they were not discovered; there was not an officer, soldier, or religious person belonging to that garrison left alive; and all this within the space of nine days after the enemy appeared before the walls; and when very many were even glad that they were engaged before a place that was like to be so well defended, and to stop their further progress for that season of the year.

This, indeed, was a much greater blow than that of Rathmines, and totally destroyed and massacred a body of above two thousand men, with which, in respect of the experience and courage of the officers, and the goodness and fidelity of common men, the marquis would have been glad to have found himself engaged in the field with the enemy, though upon some disadvantages.

He had not now left with him above seven hundred horse, and one thousand five hundred foot, whereof some were of suspected faith, and many new raised men; and though the lord Inchiquin was ready to march towards him with a good party of horse and foot, and the lord viscount Montgomery of the Ardes with the like number of Scots, yet he had neither money to give them one day's pay, nor provisions to keep them together for twenty-four hours; the commissioners were either dispersed, or their orders for collecting money not executed or regarded: and when, in these straits, the lord lieute-

nant issued out warrants himself for the raising men and money, they complained of his breach of the articles of the treaty, and talked among themselves of treating with the enemy ; that which was most counsellable, and which wise men saw was fittest to be practised, was to have put all their men into garrisons, and thereby secured the most considerable places, and therewithal (the winter now approaching) to have prosecuted the levies, and, by good discipline and exercise of their men, recovered their spirits against the spring. But, alas ! this was not at all in the marquis's power to do ; he was restrained by the articles of the treaty from making any new garrisons, and from changing any old governors without the approbation of the commissioners ; and he and the commissioners together had not credit and power enough with the chief cities and incorporate towns, which were most worth the keeping, and consequently most like to be attempted by the rebels, to force or persuade them to receive garrisons ; so Wexford, Waterford, and Limerick, the most considerable and best ports of the kingdom, declared they would admit no soldiers ; nor, indeed, did they further obey any other orders which were sent to them, than they thought fit themselves.

If this fatal distemper and discomposure had not been discovered to be among them, it is not to be believed that Cromwell (what success soever he had met with) would have engaged his army, which, with being long at sea, change of air, and much duty, was much weakened, and had contracted great sickness in sieges, after the beginning of October : yet, being encouraged, and, in truth, drawn on, by the knowledge of this humour and obstinacy of the

Irish against all remedy which could preserve them, Cromwell besieges Wexford. he marched with his army before Wexford, the citizens whereof appeared willing to make a defence; albeit they had too long neglected the means thereof, and were at last (when part of the rebels' army was lodged within half musket shot of their walls) content to receive an assistance of men from the lord lieutenant, which, upon the first intimation, his excellency hastened to them, of the choicest of those he had left, all catholics, (for that was still insisted upon,) under the command of his cousin sir Edmond Butler, a man confessedly worthy of a greater charge, who with some difficulty passed the river into that part of the town which the rebels' army could not invest: but he had not been in the town an hour, when captain Stafford (who was the governor of the castle, and whom the lord lieutenant would have removed from that charge, as not being equal to it, but because he was a catholic, and had exercised that charge during the time that the confederates were in arms against the king) gave up the place to Cromwell, and took conditions under him, and thereby gave entrance to him into the town; where all the soldiers were cruelly put to the sword, and sir Edmond Butler himself, endeavouring (when he discovered the treachery) to escape, was killed before he had been one hour in the town. The place betrayed by the Irish governor of the castle. The garrison basely murdered.

From this torrent of success and corruption, nobody will wonder that the rebels marched then without control, and took Rosse and some other places without any opposition: yet the marquis, out of too deep a sense of the stupidity, waywardness, and ingratitude of that people, for whose protection and defence he had embarked himself, his fortune, and

his honour ; and whose jealousies and fond obstinacy made the work of their preservation more difficult and impossible than the powers of their enemies could do ; desired nothing so much as an opportunity to fight the rebels, and either to give some check to their swollen fortune, or to perish in the action : and to that purpose drew all his friends to him, and sent for all the forces he could bring together from the provinces of Munster and Ulster.

From the time that the peace was concluded at Kilkenny, the lord lieutenant well discerned the mischief he should sustain by being to provide against the attempts of general Owen O'Neal, as well as against the English rebels, and that at least he could hope for no assistance from the Scots in Ulster as long as they feared him ; and therefore he had sent Daniel O'Neal, nephew to the general, to persuade him to be included in the same peace : but he was so unsatisfied with the assembly, that he declared he would have nothing to do with them, nor be comprehended in any agreement they should make ; but if the marquis would consent to some conditions he proposed, he would willingly submit to the king's authority in him. The marquis was content to grant him his own conditions, having indeed a great esteem of his conduct, and knowing the army under his command to be better disciplined than any other of the Irish. But the commissioners of trust would by no means consent to these conditions ; and declared, if the lord lieutenant proceeded thereupon to an agreement, it would be a direct breach of the articles of peace : and thereupon Owen O'Neal made that conjunction with Monke, which was before remembered, and about the very time of

the defeat at Rathmines relieved sir Charles Coote in Londonderry; and thereby kept the king from being entirely possessed of the province of Ulster, which, but for that action, would have been able to have sent strong supplies of men and provisions to the assistance of the marquis: and it is enough known, that whilst the lord lieutenant was in any hopeful condition to prevail against the rebels, the commissioners of trust and the principal persons of interest had no mind to agree with general O'Neal, out of an animosity to his person and party, and in confidence that the work would be done without him; and others who were of his party had as little mind that he should be drawn to a conjunction with the marquis, because they knew, if he were once engaged under him, they should no more be able to seduce him to join with them in any action of sedition: and upon these reasons, the persons who were deputed by the commissioners to treat with him, and were known to have an interest in him, on the one side persuaded Owen O'Neal that the lord lieutenant had already broken the articles of peace, and that he could have no security that what should be promised should be performed to him; and on the other side informed the marquis, that he insisted on such extravagant propositions, that the commissioners of trust would never yield to them: but after the arrival of Cromwell, and his success against Drogheda, the commissioners of trust thought it high time to unite with him; and Owen O'Neal himself discerned how unsafe he should be by the prevailing of the English rebels, who, notwithstanding the signal services performed by him to them,

The lord
lieutenant
treats with
O'Neal.

had publicly disowned the agreement which their own officers had made with him; and thereupon, by the interposition again of Daniel O'Neal, all particulars were agreed between the lord lieutenant and him, with the consent of the commissioners of trust, about the time that Cromwell was before Wexford; insomuch that he promised within a few days to bring his army to join with the lord lieutenant, which (though himself lived not to execute it) was performed shortly after: so that about the time that Wexford was taken, he was not without hope, by the advantage of passes, and by cutting off his provisions, to have made Cromwell return to Dublin, very hardly without losing a good part of his army; when, on a sudden and together, all the considerable places in the province of Munster revolted to the rebels, and thereby gave them a safe retreat, and free passage, and necessary provisions of all that they wanted, and harbours for ships to bring all to them that they could desire. The lord Inchiquin being so totally betrayed by those officers whom he trusted most and had most obliged, that after he had in vain tried to reduce them by force, he could not, without much difficulty, obtain the liberty and redelivery of his wife and children to him, whom they had surprised in the city of Cork. This action, in this fatal conjuncture of time, when the straits Cromwell was in by the winter and want of provisions had raised the spirits of all men, and when they looked upon themselves as like to have at least some hopeful encounter with him, was not a loss or blow, but a dissolution of the whole frame of their hopes and designs; and introduced a spirit of jea-

The towns
in Munster
revolt to
the English
rebels.

lousy and animosity into the army, which no dexterity or interest of the lord lieutenant could extinguish or allay.

From the first hour of the peace, the English and Irish had not been without that prejudice towards each other, as gave the marquis much trouble; and they were rather incorporated by their obedience and submission to the authority and pleasure of their supreme commanders, than united by the same inclinations and affections to any public end; inso-much, as before the defeat of Rathmines there were many among the Irish who much feared the swift success of the army, and apprehended the lord lieutenant's speedy reducing of Dublin would give him much power, and make him more absolute than they desired to see him, and therefore were nothing sorry for that misfortune: on the other hand, the English were troubled to see the authority and jurisdiction of the marquis so restrained and limited by the articles, and that the army was neither recruited, disciplined, nor provided for as it ought to be, solely by his want of power, and they had a very low opinion of the spirit and courage of the Irish: but now, upon this defection in Munster, there was a determination of all confidence and trust in each other: the Irish declaring that they suspected all the English nation, and made the treachery of those who so infamously had betrayed their trust, an unreasonable argument for their jealousy of those who remained in the army; who, being a handful of gallant men, and of most unshaken fidelity to the king, were indeed, in respect of their courage and experience in war, the party to be principally depended upon in

any action or encounter, and of which only the enemy had had any apprehension.

Cromwell
marches
towards
Wexford.

Though the season of the year (for it was now towards the end of November) and the sickness that was in the rebels' army made it high time for them to betake themselves to their winter quarters, and such was their resolution; yet Cromwell being well informed of this present distemper amongst those who made up the whole strength the lord lieutenant was to trust to, and knowing that the clergy had the full dominion in all the incorporate towns and places of importance, and would keep the people from submitting to those expedients which could only preserve them, he resolved to make one attempt more; and so marched with his army, consisting of about two thousand horse and near five thousand foot, towards Waterford. This was the time when he encamped near Thomastown, within the distance of two or three miles of the marquis; and with which they have since reproached him, in some printed discourses, as an opportunity he voluntarily omitted and declined, when he might have fought with the rebels upon an advantage of ground, and an equality of numbers: whereas the truth is known to be, that (notwithstanding the jealousy and discomposure of the humours in his army, being upon the time of the defection in Munster, and inequality in the numbers and quality of the men; for the rebels had near double the number of horse, and were superior in foot) the marquis had a resolution to give battle to them, conceiving that these disadvantages and extreme hazards were reasonably to be preferred to those which he foresaw he should be

forced to undergo without fighting: but the very morning before they drew up in battalia near Thomastown, upon the information of several persons, who pretended to have seen the enemy march towards Kilkenny, which was within the same distance of the place where they were encamped, or nearer than to that where he was; and the garrison being drawn out thence, to strengthen the army for the encounter they expected, the marquis marched with all the horse, with as much speed as might be, to put himself between the town and the rebels, and so was absent when they discovered them to be drawn up on the hill: and if he had been there, there was a river between them, which (if he would have fought) he must have passed by a bridge, where more than three could not have marched abreast, up an hill, upon the steep rising whereof the rebels had planted themselves in order of battle; so that, if all other considerations had been away, he could never have thought it reasonable to have engaged his army upon so manifest a disadvantage.

From hence Cromwell marched to Waterford, knowing well enough that the marquis could not keep the small body he had together two days; which was very true; for having not money enough to give them half a week's pay, nor provision to serve them four and twenty hours, he was compelled to suffer the greater part of them to go to their quarters: however he was resolved not to leave Waterford to the enemy, though they had so obstinately and disobediently refused to receive a garrison, which would have prevented their present pressure; whereas they were now closely besieged to their walls on all that side of the town which lay to Munster, the

Why the
marquis did
not fight
Cromwell's
army.

Cromwell
marches to
besiege Wa-
terford.

Lord lieu-
tenant
forced to
disband his
army, but
provides
for the de-
fence of
Waterford.

other being open, to be relieved by the river of Shure, which there severs Leinster from Munster, and washes the walls of the town on that side. The inhabitants, seeing destruction at their doors, abated so much of their former madness, as to be willing to receive a supply of soldiers, yet under a condition, that they might be all of the old Irish of Ulster, who, under the command of Owen O'Neal, had longest opposed the king's authority, (and were now newly joined with the marquis;) and in express terms refused to receive any of their own neighbours and kindred, the confederate Irish catholics of Munster or Leinster, to the great offence and scandal of that part of the nation, which had been as zealous for their religion as any. However, since there was no other way to preserve them, the lord lieutenant was content to comply even with that humour, and so choosing a strong party of near fifteen hundred men, and putting them under the command of lieutenant general Farrell, who was the most acceptable to them, his excellency himself marched with them, and put them into the town; which he had no sooner done, than Cromwell found it convenient to raise his siege; and shortly after betook himself to his winter-quarters.

Cromwell
obliged to
raise the
siege.

It was the month of December, and a season, with frost and snow, as uneasy as that time of the year, in that cold country, hath at any time produced: yet the marquis having left the town, as he thought, full of the sense of the late benefit and preservation which they had received from him, and designing to employ this time both in fortifying Waterford, and providing it better to resist the enemy, before they should be able to make another attempt upon it, and

likewise in reducing Rosse and Wexford, and all other places which the rebels had taken, and left but weakly manned and provided, he drew his forces together, and leaving them on the other side of the river Shure, himself, with a train only of forty or fifty horse, consisting of his friends and servants, went into the town, presuming that he should be able to persuade them to submit to and join in whatsoever should manifestly appear to be for their own benefit and advantage. When he came into the town, he found lieutenant general Farrell engaged in a design to take Passage, a place seized on by Cromwell, after he had retired from Waterford, and which was an inconvenient neighbour to that city: colonel Wogan, who had been seasonably sent by the marquis into Duncannon, (even when the first governor placed there by the confederate catholics was ready to deliver it up to the rebels,) and who had with notable courage defended it against Cromwell, and in the end, after the loss of a great number of his men, compelled him to retire, had agreed to meet lieutenant general Farrell at a place and house appointed, and together to fall upon Passage. Though the marquis had not been informed of the form and contrivance of the design, yet he knew well enough what interpretation would be made if his interposition, or command, or wariness should divert it: he was therefore very willing that it should proceed, the matter, if well laid, and carried with secrecy, being hopeful enough. Lieutenant general Farrell had not been marched from the town many hours, when the marquis discovered, from some place of prospect in the town, a strong party of horse marching in good order, the way that

Design
upon Pas-
sage.

led to Passage; which belonging to the rebels, made him conclude that they had notice of the design: whereupon he presently sent for the mayor of the town, and shewing him the inevitable danger their whole party was in, which was the only strength against any enterprise of the enemy, (if they were not instantly relieved,) required him presently to send some boats over to the other side of the river, for the transporting a regiment or two of his horse, with which he would himself endeavour to rescue them.

How apparent soever the danger and mischief was, and how visible and natural soever the remedy, all the commands and entreaties he could use, could not prevail to get one boat, nor their consent that any of his horse should be suffered to march through the town, without which they could not go to their relief. When he had in vain tried all ways to convince and persuade them, he caused all his own friends and servants (which, as was said before, amounted not to above forty or fifty) to mount their horses, and with all imaginable haste led them himself towards Passage, that he might at least discover, though he was not like to prevent, the loss that was like to ensue. When he came within sight of the town, he could discern a party of foot marching with great haste and disorder towards him, being pursued by the rebels' horse, who had even overtaken them, having fallen upon the remainder, and either killed them upon the place, or taken them prisoners. Though the company that attended the marquis was too few to encounter the rebels with any considerable hope, yet he drew them up in that manner on the side of a hill, that the enemy,

The marquis relieves Farrell, and stops the pursuit of the rebels with a very small party.

imagining their numbers to be more considerable, thought fit to lessen their pace, and to send a small party to discover; which being again entertained by the like number in light skirmishes, the foot as much improving their march, they were in the end, by the marquis's frequent exposing his own person to retard the rebels' pursuit, preserved: and so he brought back with him into the town about half those which had marched thence, and which had been infallibly destroyed if he had not taken even that desperate course to redeem them; as he might as surely have recovered all the others who were made prisoners, and defeated all that body of the rebels, and consequently taken Passage, if the city would have permitted his horse to have been transported over the river, and to have marched through it.

Unseasonable obstinacy of the citizens of Waterford.

The marquis was, by this last experiment, sufficiently convinced how impossible it would be to persuade the town (which was entirely governed by the clergy) to suffer any part of his army to enter into it, which, in many respects, and especially for finishing their works and fortifications, had been very necessary; on the other side, without the countenance and security of the town, and bringing his army over the river, it was as impossible to prosecute his design for the reduction of Passage, and those places mentioned before. He desired therefore no more of them, than that they would be content that his army might for a little time be huddled under their walls; where they should receive their provisions and pay duly out of the country, and so should be a security and benefit to the town, without the least damage in any degree. But this pro-

The lord lieutenant's designs obstructed by the influence of the popish clergy.

position found no more regard than the former; and, instead of consulting with what circumstances to comply with so just and necessary a demand of the king's lieutenant, it was proposed, in the council of the town, to seize on his person, and to fall on all that belonged to him, as enemies; which advice met with no other reprehension, than that for the present the major part did not consent to it. Of all which, when the marquis was fully informed, he thought it time to depart from thence, and to leave them to their own imaginations; and so marched away with his army, which, after this indignity, it was a thing impossible to keep together, all the troops removing to those quarters where there was some means for their subsistence: himself went to his castle at Kilkenny, from whence he despatched an account to the king, (who was then in his island of Jersey,) of the true state of his affairs in that kingdom; by which his majesty might see how much his rebels, who disclaimed any subjection to him, prevailed against his authority, and how it was equally contemned, and deluded, or disregarded by his subjects, who made all profession of obedience and duty to him; which was a method those ill times had made his majesty too well acquainted with: and from this time (which was in the month of December, 1649) the marquis never did nor ever could draw together into one body the number of five hundred men: what endeavours he used to do it, will be mentioned in order hereafter.

His army
separates.

Lord lieutenant
expostulates
with the
commissioners of
trust.

As soon as the lord lieutenant came to Kilkenny, he consulted with the commissioners of trust, (without whose approbation and consent he could do no act that was of importance,) what remedies to apply

to the strange disorder and confusion which spread itself over their affairs. They had still been present witnesses of all his actions, of his unwearied pains and industry, and of the little fruit that was reaped by it; how his orders and commands, and their own, had been neglected and disobeyed in all those particulars, without which an army could not be brought or kept together; how those places which the rebels had possessed themselves of had been, for the most part, lost by their own obstinate refusal to receive such assistance from him, as was absolutely necessary for their preservation; and yet they had raised most unreasonable imputations and reproaches on him, as if he had failed in their defence and relief: they had seen the wonderful and even insupportable wants and necessities the army had always undergone, and knew well how all warrants had been disobeyed, for the bringing in of money or provisions for the supply thereof; and yet their country was full of clamour and discontent for the payment of taxes, and being exhausted with contributions, he desired them therefore to examine where any misdemeanors had in truth been, that they might be punished; and from whence the scandals and calumnies proceeded, that the minds of the people might be informed and composed. The commissioners had, for the most part, very diligently and faithfully intended the service from the beginning, according to the trust reposed in them; yet there were some among them too able and dexterous in business, who always maligned the person of the marquis, or rather his religion, and the authority he represented; and, what professions soever they made

of respect to him, still maintained a close intelligence and correspondence with those of the clergy, who were most disaffected to his majesty's interest, and who, from the misfortune at Rathmines, had underhand fomented and cherished all the ill humours and jealousies of the people.

Commissioners' advice to the marquis.

The commissioners advised the marquis, as the best expedient to satisfy the country, that orders might be sent to them to elect some few persons among themselves, to send to Kilkenny as agents, to represent those grievances which were most heavy on them, and to offer any desires that might promote their security; alleging, that they could by this means be clearly informed how groundless their jealousies were, and the artifices would be discovered which had been used to corrupt their affections. Though the marquis well knew how tedious and inconvenient this course might prove, and rather advance all the scandalous and seditious designs than suppress them; yet he foresaw as well, that if it were declined by him, he should be unavoidably reproached with not being willing to be informed of the just grievances of the people, and consequently not to remedy them; and therefore, without giving countenance to any such irregular conventions by any formal summons of his own, he gave way that the commissioners should write their letters to that purpose: and accordingly agents did come thither from several counties, to communicate and present their complaints and desires together in January following; and the lord lieutenant received them with good countenance, and wished them freely to consult together, and as soon as they could,

Agents from the counties to represent pretended grievances.

to present whatever they had to say to him; to which they should be sure to receive a speedy answer.

In the mean time, the bishops and clergy of themselves, and without any authority received or desired from the lord lieutenant, assembled at Clannacnois, upon the river of Shannon; upon whose counsels and conclusions all men's eyes were more fixed than upon what the agents should represent at Kilkenny; it being very evident that, notwithstanding almost all the whole catholic nobility of the kingdom, and all the principal persons of quality and interest, heartily concurred with the marquis; and the commissioners of trust, for the most part, were as zealous for the execution and observation of the articles of peace, and that the same might be rendered useful to the nation; yet the clergy and religious persons had found means to obstruct that union, which was necessary for the carrying on the work, and especially had that influence upon the corporate towns, that no garrison should be received there, or such submission paid to the lord lieutenant's or the commissioners' orders, as was essential to their own defence, and to the making war against the rebels; so that all men were in suspense what would be the issue of that meeting: and it cannot be denied, but that those bishops and that part of the clergy which were best affected, and knew the ways that were most conducing to the happiness of their country, prevailed so far, that the conclusions which were then made were full of respect to the king's service, and of wholesome advice and counsel to the people: they declared, "how vain a thing it was to imagine that there could be any security

Assembly of
the Irish
clergy.

Their per-
dicious in-
fluence on
the people.

“for the exercise of their religion, for the enjoy-
 “ment of their fortunes, or for the preservation of
 “their lives, by any treaty with, or promise from
 “the English rebels; that they abhorred all the
 “factions, animosities, and divisions, which raged
 “among themselves, to the hinderance of the public
 “service; and therefore enjoined all the clergy, of
 “what quality soever, and ecclesiastical persons, by
 “preaching, and all other ways, to incline the peo-
 “ple to an union of affections, and to the laying
 “aside all jealousies of each other, and unanimously
 “to concur in the opposing the common enemy, and
 “appointed the bishops and other superiors to pro-
 “ceed with great severity against those religious
 “and spiritual persons, who should underhand che-
 “rish and foment those jealousies and divisions.”
 in a word, they said so much and so well, that when
 the lord lieutenant was informed of it, and saw the
 extract of their determinations, he conceived some
 hope that it might indeed make some good impres-
 sion on the people, and produce very good effects.

Complaints
 of grievanc-
 es found to
 be ground-
 less.

The agents from the country spent some time at
 Kilkenny in preparing the heads of such grievances
 as they thought fit to present to the lord lieutenant,
 who called still upon them to despatch; but upon
 conference with the gravest of the commissioners,
 they found how groundless all those slanders were,
 which they had believed before they came thither,
 and so could not agree upon any particulars to com-
 plain of: besides, they met with some disturbance
 there. Cromwell, well knowing how the small
 forces were scattered abroad, marched with a strong
 party towards the town; with which the agents
 were so alarmed, that they would no longer stay

there, but desired the marquis to let them adjourn to Ennis, in the county of Clare; which they did: and though they met there, yet they never agreed on the draught of any grievances to be presented, though they made that ill use of their meeting to propagate the scandals and imputations which had been groundlessly raised, and to inflame the people by the same untruths. Notwithstanding this alarm and danger the lord lieutenant's person and the town were really in, all the power and authority he had could not, in ten days, draw five hundred men together to resist the enemy; however, the townsmen appeared so ready and prepared for their defence, and the marquis putting all his own friends and servants on horseback, with which he made a troop of about an hundred, looked with so good a countenance upon the enemy, that he retired: and shortly after, the lord lieutenant committed the charge of the place and the country adjacent to the earl of Castlehaven, and went himself upon a more important business to Limerick.

Though the rebels (by the faction and obstinacy of the people, who could not hitherto be induced to make a reasonable provision for defence) had prevailed very far, and possessed themselves of many good places without any considerable opposition, yet there remained a good part of the kingdom free from their power; the whole province of Connaught was still entire, and the cities of Limerick and Galway in the possession of the catholics; which might be made so strong as not to fear any strength the rebels could bring before them, and are so situated for all advantages of the sea, that they might, being well supplied, maintain a war against the whole

The lord lieutenant with an inconsiderable force obliges Cromwell to draw off from 'Kilkenny.

The progress of the English rebels owing to the divisions among the Irish.

Lord lieutenant endeavours to preserve Limerick.

kingdom: there were men enough, so that there wanted only order and resolution to preserve themselves. The marquis resolved to begin with Limerick; and if he could dispose that city to a full obedience, and to receive a garrison, he made no question, not only to fortify it against any attempt of the enemy, but, under the countenance of it, and by the security of the river of Shannon, to quarter his troops, raise contribution for their support, discipline his men, and in effect, by the spring, so to recruit his army, that he might give battle to the rebels wherever he should engage: and to this purpose he went himself thither from Kilkenny, in the month of January, hoping that the good resolution of the bishops at Clanmacnois had well prepared the people to comply with him. But when he came thither, albeit he was received with outward demonstrations of respect, he found the temper not such as he desired. Whatever the bishops had declared, the clergy had observed none of those directions, nor were any in so much credit as they who behaved themselves quite contrary to those determinations; and if no way could be found out to allay this spirit, all his endeavours, he saw, would be without any fruit: whereupon he resolved to try whether that part of the clergy which wished well to the kingdom, could use as efficacious means to preserve it, as the others, who desired confusion, did to destroy it; and upon advice with the principal persons of the catholic nobility, and with the commissioners of trust, he did, about the end of February, by letters, desire as many of the catholic bishops as were within any convenient distance, to meet him at Limerick, which they accordingly did.

When they came thither, he conferred with them, in the presence of the commissioners of trust, with all frankness, upon the distracted and disjointed state of affairs, and freely told them, "that without the people might be brought to have a full confidence in him, and yield a perfect obedience to him, and without the city of Limerick might be persuaded to receive a garrison and obey his orders, it was not to be hoped that he could be able to do any thing considerable against the rebels: he desired them therefore, if they had a mistrust of him, or dislike of his government, that they would as clearly let him know it; assuring them, that such was his desire of the people's preservation, that there was nothing in his power, consistent with his duty to the king, and agreeable with his honour, that he would not do at their desire for that end;" withal letting them see, "that his continuance with the name, and not with the power of lord lieutenant, could bring nothing but ruin upon the nation, as well as dishonour upon him: so that he propounded unto them in plain terms, either that they would procure a due obedience to be yielded unto him, or propose some other way, by his quitting the kingdom, how it might be preserved."

Conference
with the
commissioners of
trust.

After consultation together, they returned with many expressions of respect and affection to his person, and faithfully promised to endeavour the procuring all that obedience he desired; withal, presenting unto him a paper of advice, which contained, as they said, certain remedies for removing the discontents and disgusts of the people, and for the advancing his majesty's service: amongst which

they proposed, "that a privy council might be
"framed of the peers and other the natives of the
"kingdom, as well spiritual as temporal, to sit daily
"with him, and determine all the weighty affairs of
"the country by their counsel;" and many other
particulars concerning the raising of men and conducting the war; to every one of which the marquis gave them an answer in writing: amongst which he told them, "that he could not understand how
"the present distresses of the kingdom could proceed from the want of a privy council, nor how
"the framing such a council could advantage the
"management of the war, which by the articles of
"the peace was to be done by the commissioners of
"trust, with whom he did always communicate all
"matters of importance; and therefore he could
"not think fit unnecessarily to presume upon doing a thing for which he had neither power nor
"precedent, the nomination of all persons to be of
"the privy council being always reserved by the
"king to himself;" yet, rather than there should be wanting any thing that was in his power to satisfy the people in, he wished "that the particular
"acts which the privy council had heretofore done,
"and were now necessary to be done, might be instanced; and so far forth as should appear necessary and fit, he would qualify persons free from
"just exceptions with such powers:" and so answered all their propositions, that they seemed to be well satisfied therewith; and thereupon published a declaration, in which they professed, "that they did
"and would endeavour to root out of men's hearts,
"all jealousies and sinister opinions, conceived either
"against his excellency, or the present govern-

“ment.” and they entreated him “to give them
 “further instructions;” declaring, “that they were
 “not deterred by the want of expected good suc-
 “cess in the affairs of the kingdom, but rather ani-
 “mated to give further onsets, and to try all other
 “possible ways:” and did faithfully promise, “that
 “no industry or care should be wanting in them to
 “receive and execute his directions.”

When the marquis first proposed to the commis-
 sioners of trust that Limerick and other places
 might be garrisoned and fortified, he offered them
 the names of three persons of the Roman catholic
 religion, and of eminent quality, reputation, and
 fortunes, that out of them they might choose one
 for the command of Limerick; but resolving after-
 wards to call this assembly of the bishops thither,
 and to be there himself in person, he deferred the
 proceeding further in it till then, that with their
 own advice such a person might be chosen for that
 important charge, as should be beyond any possi-
 bility of a just exception from that corporation.
 Now he took all the imaginary pains, and descended
 to all the arts of persuasion, to satisfy those of the
 city, who he perceived were the most leading men,
 of the necessity of their speedy receiving a governor
 and a garrison, for the preservation of their own
 interest, and whatsoever could be of value with any
 people: but he was so far from prevailing with
 them, that they performed not those outward civi-
 ties and respects to him, which had been in no other
 place denied. The officer who commanded the city
 guards neither came to him for orders, nor imparted
 them to him. No officer of the army or other person
 could, without special leave from the mayor, (which

Ingratitude
of the Irish
to the lord
lieutenant.

was often very hardly obtained,) be admitted to come to his presence, to receive his commands and directions for resisting and opposing the rebels, who at that very time prevailed in the very county of Limerick itself; and to publish yet more the contempt they had of the king's authority, they committed to prison the viscount Killmallock, a catholic peer of the realm, and an officer of the army, (the lord lieutenant himself being upon the place,) for no other reason than for quartering for one night some few horse under his command, by the marquis's own orders, within the liberties of that city.

All this being done so contrary to the injunctions which the bishops had published for the direction of the people, and at a time when they were assembled there, and when he despaired of persuading them to what so absolutely concerned their proper safety, the marquis believed it would not be agreeable to the honour of his master to remain any longer in a place, where such affronts and contempts were put upon his authority; and yet being willing still to expect some good effects from the observation and discretion of the bishops, who could not but discern what ruin must immediately attend such licence and disobedience, he appointed all the said bishops, and as many more as could be persuaded to come thither, and the commissioners, to meet him some few days after at Loghreeh, where about the 19th of March they attended accordingly.

Represent-
tation of
the lord
lieutenant
to the Irish.

When they appeared again at Loghreeh, the marquis represented to their memories, " what they before had been themselves witnesses of, and observed at Limerick, and the neglects he had borne there; and desired them to remove these cause-

“less distrusts, which (being maliciously infused into the people’s minds) did slacken, if not wholly withdraw their obedience from his majesty’s authority; wished them to consider how impossible it was for him, with honour, or any hope of success, to contend against a powerful, absolutely obeyed, and plentifully supplied enemy; himself being under such domestic disadvantages of distrusts and disobedience:” and concluded, “that if the consequence of the service could not induce them to be all of one mind in putting a garrison into Limerick, or if (being of one mind) they could not induce the city to obedience and submission to such their determination, he could no longer entertain a hope of giving any check to the success of the enemy, and would thereupon consider how otherwise to dispose of himself.”

Both the bishops and the commissioners were really (or at least seemed) so entirely convinced of the necessity of erecting that garrison, and of putting that city into a better posture of defence than at that time it appeared to be in, that the commissioners, in whom that trust was reposed by the articles of the peace, ordered it to be done; and sent two of their members with their order to Limerick, and with a letter to the mayor to conform thereunto; and the bishops wrote to the archbishop of Cashel and the bishop of Limerick, both then at Limerick, desiring them “to use their utmost endeavours to incline the city to submit to the directions of the lord lieutenant, and the commissioners:” and having done this, they departed to those places they thought fit, to dispose the people (as they professed) to all acts of conformity and obe-

Fatal jealousies of the Irish.

dience. But the commissioners in a short time returned from Limerick, without having in any degree prevailed with them to receive either a governor or garrison, or to conform themselves to any orders that the lord lieutenant or the commissioners should send to them, otherwise than as they agreed with their own inclinations: instead of making choice of any one of those three who were nominated to them for their governor, all of the Roman catholic religion, of very considerable interest in the kingdom, and of great reputation, they upon the matter declared that they would keep that power in their own hands; and for the receiving of a garrison, they proposed some particulars, what men of the Irish catholics they would receive, and what they would not; what course should be taken for the support of them, and through what hands it should pass; and many other things directly contrary to the articles of the peace which had been with solemnity proclaimed in that city, and to which they had professed all submission.

Lord lieutenant perseveres in his loyal endeavours.

All this perverseness, obstinacy, and ingratitude, could not yet extinguish the affection and compassion which the marquis had towards them; and he clearly discerned that it proceeded not from a spirit that was enclosed and confined within those walls, but that it was the same that was working generally in other places: he was well enough satisfied that they, who were most passionately possessed with it, had no correspondence with the English rebels, nor had a mind to be subjected to their power; he was willing therefore to believe that they had fancied and imagined some expedient to themselves for their own preservation, which could not fall

within his comprehension; and that they might have contracted some prejudice to his person, or to his religion, which might keep them from such an union and confidence as they might be reduced to under some catholic, who might be as zealous to preserve his majesty's interest, and to recover the kingdom to his obedience; and he was the more confirmed in this apprehension, by revolving the several passages which had happened at his being at Limerick, during the time that they seemed to pay him much respect: the lord Inchiquin had been then with him, towards whom they had observed the marquis had a great confidence and friendship, (as he well deserved;) some principal persons of the city, and with them some of the bishops, had, under the show of great confidence and trust, repaired to the lord lieutenant, and declared to him, that all that indisposition and waywardness in the people proceeded from the prejudice they had against the lord Inchiquin, who had always, they said, prosecuted the war against them with the most rigour and animosity; and those places and persons who had been most at his devotion having treacherously revolted to the rebels, the people were not confident of him, and jealous that he had too great an interest in the marquis; so that if he would dismiss that lord, and discharge the troops which yet remained under his command, (and of which some frequently ran away to the rebels,) not only that city, but the whole nation would, as one man, be at his disposal.

Foolish policy of the Irish.

Whilst these insinuations were thus devised to the lord lieutenant, other persons (and those as leading men with an equal number of the bishops) applied themselves to the lord Inchiquin, and told him,

“ that whilst the affairs were conducted by the marquis of Ormond, they expected no good fortune ;
“ that they looked upon him as not of their nation,
“ and one so solicitous for the English interest, and
“ for all Englishmen, that he was nothing regardful
“ of theirs ; that his lordship was of the most ancient
“ extraction of Ireland, and under that notion looked
“ upon with great affection and reverence by the
“ Irish ; and if the government and command were
“ exercised by him, there would be such an obedience paid to him, that he would in a short time
“ grow strong enough to oppose the enemy, and to
“ recover his country.” When these two lords had communicated each to other (as they quickly did) the excellent address that had been made to them, and agreed together how to draw on and encourage the proposers, that they might discover as much of their purposes as was possible, they easily found their design was to be rid of them both ; and when they perceived, by the continuance of the same friendship, that they had communicated with each other, they less dissembled towards both, but proceeded with those disrespects which are mentioned before.

The marquis having sadly reconsidered all this, and that nothing might remain unattempted by him, that he could possibly imagine might tend in any degree to the recovery or preservation of the kingdom, he appointed a second meeting to be at Loughreah, and summoned thither all the catholic bishops, as many of the nobility as could with any security come thither, the chief gentlemen of quality of the parts adjacent, and the principal officers of the army ; and being met together, he gave them, in the first

place, an answer in writing to the grievances which had been presented to him at the former meeting, in which he made it evident, "how much they were mistaken in much of the matters of fact; that what was really amiss proceeded entirely from themselves, and their not observing the orders and rules they were bound by; and could not be prevented by him, who consented to all the good and practicable ways proposed by themselves for remedying the like for the future. He remembered them of the pains he had taken, of the propositions he had made, of the orders he had given, and of the neglects, disobedience, and affronts he had received; by which alone the rebels had made that progress in their success. He shewed them a letter he had lately received from his master, the king, bearing date the second of February, from Jersey, in answer to one he had written to his majesty in December, to give him an account of the ill state of the kingdom, and the carriage of the city of Waterford, then newly, to him," which is set down at large before; upon perusal whereof his majesty had in this letter signified his pleasure to him; "that in case of the continuance of that disobedience in the people, and contempt of his authority, his lieutenant should withdraw himself and his majesty's authority out of the kingdom: he told them, that having received so little effect of all the pains he had taken, and so ill returns for all the affection he had shewed to them, he was resolved to make use speedily of the liberty the king had given him, as to his own person, which, he found, was rendered so unacceptable to the people; yet if they could propose to him any

Lord lieutenant's answer to the Irish pretended grievances.

He resolves to leave Ireland.

“ way how he might deposit the king’s authority, in
 “ such a manner as it might not be exposed to the
 “ same affronts it had received in him, and might
 “ be applied to preserving the people, and recover-
 “ ing the kingdom, he would gladly gratify them ;
 “ and would heartily wish, that they might receive
 “ that happiness by his absence, which they would
 “ not receive by his presence ;” and to that purpose,
 “ desired them to consult seriously and maturely
 “ among themselves.”

The Irish,
 concerned
 at this reso-
 lution, ad-
 dress the
 lord lieu-
 tenant.

Upon this, all the bishops, nobility, and commis-
 sioners of trust, with the principal gentlemen, ex-
 pressed very much trouble at the resolution the mar-
 quis had taken ; and, on the last day of April, in
 the year 1650, made an address to him in writing,
 under their several hands, in which, among other
 things, they told him, “ that they conceived them-
 “ selves in duty bound, for his better information of
 “ the inclinations of the nation, humbly to present
 “ to him, that, however his excellency might not
 “ have met a ready concurrence to some proposals
 “ made for the advancement of his majesty’s service,
 “ occasioned by some misunderstanding in some few
 “ persons and places, yet the country generally, and
 “ the nation in it, as they had already, by the ex-
 “ pending their substance in an extraordinary mea-
 “ sure, and their lives upon all occasions, abundantly
 “ testified their sincere and immoveable affections
 “ to preserve his majesty’s rights and interest entire
 “ unto him, so they would for the future, and with
 “ the like cheerfulness, endeavour to overcome all the
 “ difficulties which the enemy’s power and success
 “ had laid in their way ; and that they who were
 “ then met (and they doubted not but the same was

“the general sense of the whole nation) would, with
 “all care and earnestness, endeavour, not only to
 “conserve in the people such their good inclination;
 “but if any persons or places should be refractory;
 “or decline that obedience which is due to his ma-
 “jesty’s authority, they would contribute their best
 “endeavours to reduce them, and to make them
 “conformable unto the same;” and, after many
 other specious professions and protestations of their
 zeal to obey his excellency, they humbly besought
 him, “to appoint commanders in the several pro-
 “vinces, to whom those of his majesty’s subjects
 “(who, by the excitements of the clergy, were ready;
 “with alacrity, to undergo that care, should be en-
 “couraged to take arms) might repair for the oppos-
 “ing the power of the rebels.”

How respective soever this address was, and how
 solemnly soever it was presented, the Lord lieutenant
 was resolved not to be longer satisfied with these
 general declarations of their good designs and pur-
 poses; and therefore the very next day he sent them
 a letter, containing what he would expect from them;
 the which, for the more clear manifestation of the
 whole proceeding, shall be here faithfully inserted;
 and was in these words.

“After our hearty commendations, in answer to
 “your letter of the last of April, we think fit to put
 “you in mind, that upon communicating to you his
 “majesty’s letter of the second of February, we then
 “acquainted you at large with what had passed at
 “Waterford, which, being by us represented to his
 “majesty, occasioned his sending the said letter; as
 “also, that we found the city of Limerick had taken

The lord
 lieutenant’s
 letter to the
 assembly at
 Loghreeh.

“ example thereby to affront and contemn his ma-
 “ jesty’s authority placed in us, and from us, by the
 “ consent of the representative of the confederate
 “ catholics, at the conclusion of the peace derived to
 “ the commissioners ; both which you pass over, with
 “ an extenuation of those disobediences, and (by at-
 “ tributing them to some misunderstanding) you seem,
 “ in a manner, to excuse them : whereas we had rea-
 “ son to expect, that (suitable to your general pro-
 “ fessions) you would have resented the particular
 “ deportment of those places, and proposed to us
 “ how the contrivers thereof might be brought to
 “ justice, and reduced to perfect obedience : for as
 “ your professions of care and earnestness to endea-
 “ vour, not only to conserve in the people the good
 “ inclinations you find in them, but that if any per-
 “ son or place should be refractory, or decline that
 “ perfect obedience due to his majesty’s authority,
 “ you will contribute your best endeavours to reduce
 “ them, and make them conformable to the same,
 “ cannot be evidenced or made good by you, but
 “ by applying those endeavours, where we give you
 “ particular undeniable instances of refractoriness and
 “ disobedience ; so there can be no instance thereof
 “ more pregnant, or (if it be persisted in) more de-
 “ structive to his majesty and the nation, than that
 “ of Limerick ; to the immediate reducing whereof,
 “ we therefore thought, and do now expect, you
 “ would effectually apply yourselves. We are well
 “ satisfied that the generality of the country and na-
 “ tion, who have given the proofs you mention, of
 “ their sincere affections to preserve his majesty’s
 “ rights entire to him, will persevere therein, if those
 “ upon whose examples and advice they very much

“ fix their resolutions, be active and industrious to
 “ lead and exhort them thereunto: but we must
 “ withal let you know, that we cannot hope that
 “ those good affections and alacrities, in defence of
 “ his majesty and their own interest, can be success-
 “ ful, if the city of Limerick, and all other cities
 “ and towns be not in perfect obedience, and imme-
 “ diately put under a military government, for mili-
 “ tary matters, and thereby into a condition of de-
 “ fence and offence; which to conceal from the peo-
 “ ple, were towards them as great a treachery, as
 “ it would be in us a vain rashness, without a just
 “ obedience first gained, to attempt the opposing
 “ the strength and power of the rebels. And there-
 “ fore we must and do declare, that as the parti-
 “ cular refractoriness of the city of Waterford hath,
 “ more than any human means, contributed to all
 “ the successes of the rebels in those parts, since our
 “ being at Waterford; and as the want of a strong
 “ garrison in Limerick, (which we long since desired
 “ might be put there, but could not prevail,) have
 “ been the greatest visible means whereby the said
 “ rebels have, with small or no resistance, gained or
 “ destroyed the county of Limerick, and other parts
 “ adjacent; so the entire loss of the kingdom to his
 “ majesty, and the destruction of the nation, (which
 “ we have no hope to prevent, but by presently and
 “ strongly garrisoning and fortifying the said city,)
 “ must be imputed to the obstinacy of that city,
 “ if it shall persist therein. and to whoever encour-
 “ ages or connives with them therein. As to the
 “ distrusts and jealousies of the people, occasioned
 “ (as you say) for want of success in service, the
 “ sense of their sufferings, and their apprehensions

“for want of redress of their grievances, we answer,
 “that both the want of success, and the sense of
 “their sufferings, whether from the enemy or from
 “the soldier, cannot so reasonably be imputed to
 “any human cause, as to the want of garrisoning
 “the army in the principal towns and cities; where-
 “in we cannot yet prevail, nor ever could, till by
 “the enemy’s lying at one end of a town, we were
 “(not without artiding and conditioning) permitted
 “to put such men as we could then get, in at
 “another end; for, for want of garrisoning the
 “army, and by being forced to quarter it at large,
 “it was not possible to have them exercised, their
 “arms kept in order, nor they under necessary dis-
 “cipline; which (when they were to be brought to-
 “gether) rendered them worse than so many new
 “raised men, by how much they had contracted a
 “licentious liberty, and an habit of rapine and dis-
 “obedience: nor could we prevent fraud in musters,
 “or reasonably exact a strict account from the offi-
 “cers, of men so scattered, who, when they should
 “be employed upon service, were forced, or pre-
 “tended a necessity, (wherein we could not disprove
 “them,) to range the country to get in the means
 “that should enable them to serve.

“As to their apprehension for want of redress of
 “their grievances: we understand not what griev-
 “ances are thereby meant, unless those delivered
 “unto^a us by the archbishop of Tuam, on the first day
 “of April: for the other grievances, though we long
 “expected and desired them, we never saw any,
 “save a paper given to us on the 12th of March, at

^a Here lord Clarendon’s MS. ends, and that of his secretary
 commences.

“ Limerick ; which, for the forgery, calumny, and
 “ other misbecoming passages contained in it, was,
 “ as such, disowned by the clergy then met : and to
 “ those given us on the first of April, we return you
 “ herewith such answers, as (considering the gene-
 “ rality of them) is possible for us to give.

“ We have already, with the advice of the com-
 “ missioners, and (as we believe) with the approba-
 “ tion of such of the bishops as were present, ap-
 “ pointed the earl of Castlehaven to command the
 “ forces in Leinster : and with the like advice and
 “ approbation, we have employed colonel David Roche
 “ to command, for a necessary expedition ; besides,
 “ there is always upon the place there, one general
 “ officer, that will readily receive and employ any
 “ that shall be prevailed with to take arms, as is
 “ promised ; and, in case we find a fit obedience
 “ and reception from the city of Limerick, we shall
 “ be ready in person to receive and conduct such
 “ forces in the said province.

“ In Ulster we have, in pursuance of the agree-
 “ ment made with that province, given our com-
 “ mission to the bishop of Clogher ; and in Con-
 “ naught, the lord marquis of Clanrickard commands
 “ the army. We know no use, to which any money
 “ raised upon the people hath been employed, but to
 “ the maintenance of the forces ; if you do, we shall
 “ desire to be therein informed, to the end that any
 “ past misapplication thereof may be examined and
 “ punished, and the like prevented for the future.

“ To conclude, we seriously recommend to your
 “ consideration the ways of procuring such obedi-
 “ ence to his majesty and his authority in general ;
 “ and particularly from the city of Limerick, as may

“enable and encourage us, with honour and hope of
 “success, according to our desire, to use our utmost
 “industry, and to encounter all hazards, for the de-
 “fence of this kingdom and nation, against the ty-
 “ranny that will certainly be exercised upon them,
 “and the insupportable slavery they will be subject
 “unto, if the rebels prevail: and so we bid you
 “heartily farewell.

“Your very loving friend,

*From Loughreaagh, the
 1st of May, 1650.*

“ORMOND.”

Directed, “*For the archbishops, nobility,
 “bishops, the commissioners authorized
 “by us, in pursuance of the articles of
 “peace, and others assembled at Lough-
 “reaagh.*”

Address on
 the said
 letter.

Upon receipt of this letter, they made another ad-
 dress to the marquis in writing, in which they said;
 “they were very far from intending, by any expres-
 “sion they had used, to excuse the deportment of
 “the city of Limerick; nor could any man (they
 “said) more feelingly than they resent their per-
 “sonal disrespects towards his excellency, while he
 “was lately in that city; whereof they had, in their
 “letters, then ready to be sent by a committee em-
 “ployed by them to that corporation, taken notice;
 “and they did hope, that, by their deportment, they
 “would hereafter merit to have it understood, that
 “it proceeded from ignorance rather than malice;
 “and that, concerning the garrisoning of the city,
 “the clergy, (that had met lately there,) and the
 “commissioners of trust, had written very effec-
 “tually to them, and employed two of the commis-

“ sioners of trust thither, to solicit their compliance
 “ to his excellency, and to represent to them the
 “ danger and prejudice that would ensue their re-
 “ fractoriness: and though it had not taken that
 “ effect with them which was expected, yet they
 “ humbly offered to his excellency, that a second
 “ essay was to be made, and his excellency’s further
 “ positive commands to be sent thither; whereunto
 “ if they would not listen, they promised, as much
 “ as in them lay, that they would, in their respec-
 “ tive degrees and qualities, and according to their
 “ respective powers, so far as should be thought fit
 “ and necessary, upon consideration had of what
 “ hath been proposed hitherto between his excel-
 “ lency and the commissioners of trust and them
 “ concerning the garrisoning of that city, cooperate
 “ to reclaim them, and bring them to perfect obe-
 “ dience; humbly desiring, that what resolution so-
 “ ever should be taken by that city, yet that his
 “ excellency would be pleased not to impute it to
 “ any disaffection in them, or want of zeal in the
 “ nation, to advance his majesty’s service; and, in
 “ regard the transacting of that business might take
 “ up some time, *it was humbly desired*, that his
 “ excellency would be pleased to apply his imme-
 “ diate care to the forwarding of the service, and
 “ settling of affairs in the other parts of the king-
 “ dom, answerable to the present dangers and con-
 “ dition wherein it was; that there might be some
 “ visible opposition to the growing power of the
 “ enemy.” At the same time that they sent this
 address to the marquis, signed by the bishops and
 the commissioners, (which was in the beginning of
 May, 1650,) they likewise sent the archbishop of

Tuam, and sir Lucas Dillon to Limerick, with as reasonable and pressing letters to that corporation for receiving a garrison as could be written.

The marquis alters his resolution of leaving Ireland.

This demeanour in the assembly, and all the visible results of their consultation, together with their so deep professions of loyalty to the king, and of respect to his lieutenant, prevailed so far with the marquis, that he again declined his purpose of quitting the kingdom; and thereupon he dismissed a frigate which he had bought, and fitted for his transportation. And though the archbishop of Tuam and sir Lucas Dillon returned from Limerick, without that entire submission from the city which was expected; yet he was willing to make the best interpretation of their general professions of duty, and to believe that they would by degrees be induced to do what they ought; and that he might be nearer to them, to encourage any such inclination, he removed to Clare, twelve miles from Limerick, and gave orders to the troops, which, for conveniency of quarters, were scattered at too great distances, to be ready to draw to a rendezvous; and he was shortly after (very reasonably) induced to be almost confident, that the city was well disposed: for having one day (about the 11th of June) visited some troops, which he had assembled within four miles of Limerick, and returning at night to Clare; the next day two aldermen of that city came to him with this following letter, from the mayor of that corporation.

“ May it please your excellency,

Letter from the mayor of Limerick to the lord lieutenant.

“ The city council having given me in command
“ to signify, and humbly offer unto your excellency,
“ that it was expected by them, that you would,

" being so near this city yesterday, bestow a visit on
 " it; the which is no way doubted had been done by
 " your excellency, if your greater affairs had not hin-
 " dered you from the same; and they do yet ex-
 " pect, when those are over, your excellency will be
 " pleased to step hither to settle the garrison here,
 " the which without your presence cannot (as is
 " humbly conceived) be so well done, or with that
 " expedition as our necessity requires; the particu-
 " lars whereof we refer to the bearers, alderman
 " Peirce Creagh and alderman John Bourke, their
 " relation; to whom we desire credence may be
 " given by your excellency, and to believe that I
 " will never fail to be,

Limerick, 12th
June, 1650.

" Your excellency's
 " most humble servant,
 " John Creagh, mayor of Limerick."

This letter might very well have raised an expectation and assurance, that there would be now no more scruple of receiving a garrison; yet the aldermen that brought it made such pauses in the answering some necessary questions, that the marquis returned them the same night with this answer.

" After our hearty commendations, we have re-
 " ceived your letter of this day's date, by the convey-
 " ance of alderman Peirce Creagh, and heard what
 " alderman John Bourke and he had to say as from
 " that corporation: in answer whereunto, we im-
 " parted some particulars unto them, wherein we
 " expected satisfaction: which if you send us to the
 " rendezvous to-morrow, (where we intend to be,)

Lord lieu-
tenant's
answer.

" we shall visit that city, and employ our utmost

“endeavours in the settling the garrison necessarily
 “desired there, both for the defence and satisfaction
 “of that city: and so we bid you heartily farewell.

Clare, 12th
June, 1650.

“Your loving friend,
 “ORMOND.”

Lord lieutenant's
 proposals.

The particulars he proposed to them were, first, to be received in the same manner, and with such respect, as the lord lieutenants heretofore had always been: secondly, to have the command of the guard, the giving the word and orders in the city: thirdly, that there might be quarter provided within the city for such guards of horse and foot as he should carry in, which should be part of the garrison, whereof a list should be given at the rendezvous.

The next day, when the marquis came to the rendezvous, the two aldermen met him there, and informed him that the city had consented to all that he had proposed to them, (except only the admittance of his guards, which they were unwilling to do;) whereupon he sent messengers presently back with this answer, “that he intended not the drawing in of his guards, out of any mistrust he had of the loyalty of the magistrates of that city to his majesty, or of their affection to himself; but for the dignity of the place he held, and to prevent any popular tumult that might be raised by desperate and uninterested persons against him, or the civil government of the city, whereunto he had cause to fear some loose people might by false and frivolous suggestions be too easily instigated;” and to take away all possibility of suspicion from the most jealous, that he could have no end to the

prejudice of the city, he told them, "the guards he
 "meant to take in with him should consist but of
 "one hundred foot and fifty horse, and even those
 "to be entirely of their own religion, and such as,
 "having been constantly of the confederacy, were
 "interested in all the benefits of the articles of the
 "peace:" and so not imagining that they could re-
 fuse so reasonable an overture, he went towards the
 city. But when he was come very near the gates,
 the same aldermen came again to him, to let him
 know that there was a tumult raised in the city by
 a Franciscan friar, called father Wolf, and some
 others, against his coming into the town, and in
 opposition to the desires and intentions of the mayor
 and principal citizens; and therefore they dissuaded
 his going thither until the tumult should be quieted:
 so that the lord lieutenant was compelled with that
 affront to return, and rested that night at Shanbally,
 three miles from the city; from whence he wrote
 to them the sense he had of the indignity offered to
 him, and wished "them to consider not only by
 "what power they had been made a corporation
 "first, and by whose protection they had since flour-
 "ished, but also what solid foundations of safety
 "(other than by receiving the defence he had of-
 fered) was or could be proposed to them by the
 "present disturbers of their quiet; and desired their
 "present answer: that in case he might be encou-
 "raged to proceed in the way he had laid down of
 "serving the king, and preserving the city from the
 "tyranny of the rebels, he might immediately apply
 "himself thereunto; or failing in his desires therein,
 "he might apply himself, and the forces he had ga-
 "thered for that purpose, to some other service."

Lord lieu-
 tenant ad-
 vances to-
 wards Li-
 merick.
 A tumult
 thereon.

Repeated
affronts to
the lord
lieutenant.

But neither this, nor all he could do upon subsequent treaties and overtures, moving from themselves, could at all prevail with them; no, not his offering to put himself into the city, and running the same fortune with it, when Ireton was encamped before it: but they continually multiplied and repeated their affronts towards him, with all imaginable circumstances of contempt, (and in the end, that we may have no more occasion to mention the seditious carriage of this unfortunate city,) broke open his trunks of papers, (which he had left there,) seized upon the stores of corn laid up there for the supply of the army, when he believed that place would have been obedient to him, and some corn belonging to himself, and disposed of all according to their own pleasure, and received some troops of horse into the city, which contrary to the marquis's order left the army; and with those troops raised and levied contribution in the county of Clare, upon those who had honestly paid the same for the use of the army, according to those orders which they were to obey: and when the marquis sent to the mayor, to deliver the officer of the said regiment as a prisoner to a guard appointed to receive him, he could obtain no other answer, (and that not in a week's time,) than that the government of that city was committed to major general Hugh O'Neal, and therefore he, the mayor, would not meddle therein: and when the like order was sent by the marquis to Hugh O'Neal, he returned answer, that he was only a cipher, and not suffered to act any thing but what the mayor and council thought fit: so that in truth that city was no less in rebellion then to the king than the army under Ireton was; though it did for a time

resist that army, and could never have been subdued by it, if it had ever been in that obedience to the king, as by all their obligations it ought to have been; and therefore must have the less peace of conscience to support them in the calamities they have since undergone.

In the letter formerly inserted from the marquis, about the beginning of May, to the bishops and commissioners assembled at Loughreagh, it is said, that, in pursuance of a former agreement, he had granted a commission to the bishop of Clogher, for the command of the province of Ulster; it will be therefore necessary to express what that agreement was, and the proceedings thereupon.

Amongst the articles which had been made with ^{Bishop of Clogher appointed to command after the death of O'Neal.} general Owen O'Neal, it was provided, that in case of the said Owen O'Neal's death, or removal by advancement, or otherwise, before any settlement in parliament, (to which all the articles of peace related,) the nobility and gentry of the province of Ulster should have power to name one to the lord lieutenant, as chief governor for his majesty, to command in the place of the said Owen O'Neal; and the said command was to be conferred accordingly upon the person so to be named: and according to this power, Owen O'Neal being dead, the nobility, bishops, and principal gentry of that province, made choice of the bishop of Clogher to succeed him in the charge; and having signified such their election under their hands to the lord lieutenant, about the middle of March, he granted such a commission to him as he was obliged to do; and the bishop with ^{He infests the English rebels.} great activity and courage proceeded in infesting the English rebels in that province as much as was

in his power; and having an army consisting of about five thousand men, foot and horse, about the twenty-third of June, 1650, (when the lord lieutenant himself could not draw one thousand men together, or keep them, if together, the space of forty-eight hours,) he encountered, not far from Londonderry, with sir Charles Coote, who commanded the English rebels in chief in those quarters, and was then inferior in foot to the bishop, though otherwise he had a great advantage of him, by having near treble the number of horse; notwithstanding which inequality, the Irish behaved themselves with courage, but in the end were totally defeated; so that the bishop was compelled, after he saw the day was irretrievably lost, to quit the field with a small party of horse that attended him; and the next day in his flight he had the misfortune, near Enniskilling, to meet with the governor of that town, in the head of a party too strong for him, against which, however, the bishop defended himself with notable courage; and after he had received many wounds, he was forced to become a prisoner, upon promise first, that he should have fair quarter; contrary to which, sir Charles Coote, as soon as he knew he was a prisoner, caused him to be hanged, with all the circumstances of contumely, reproach, and cruelty which he could devise.

Is defeated
by Coote,

and basely
murdered.

This was the unfortunate end of that unfortunate prelate, of whom, since he bore so great a part in the troubles of Ireland, and was much superior in parts to any man of that party, it will not be impertinent or uncharitable to mention some particular passages of his life, that thereby his nature and disposition may be the better collected, and indeed the

spirit and temper of mind which that kind of men was possessed with, who had the greatest abilities to do hurt some few years before the rebellion.

This Ever Mac Mahon, being then arch-priest, His character and history. and residing for the most part in or near Dublin, repaired to sir George Radcliffe, who had then a principal part in managing the affairs of state in Ireland; and being admitted to his presence, desired to have some private conference with him, without the presence of any other: all attendants and strangers being withdrawn, he fell on his knees, and said, "he came to put his life into his hands; told him "he had committed many treasons against the king, "for which he felt that remorse of conscience, that "he resolved rather to offer his life as a sacrifice by "confessing it, than endure the torment he felt by "concealing it; that he was capable of no quiet of "mind but by this disburdening himself; and if, by "the grace and mercy of the king, he might obtain "a pardon for what was past, he would in such "manner apply himself to his majesty's service, that "he would, in some degree, merit the benefit:" and then told him "of several treaties which were abroad "with foreign princes, in order to the disturbance "of the peace of that realm."

Upon hearing him, and those great expressions of penitence, sir George wrote to one of the secretaries of state in England, to inform his majesty of all the particulars, who (according to the clemency of his nature) sent a warrant over for the preparing and passing his pardon, the which shortly after sir George delivered to him, who again falling on his knees, and magnifying the mercy of the king, said, "he had

“ now peace of mind, and desired nothing but to
“ deserve the favour of so gracious a sovereign, that
“ he would content himself with that evidence of his
“ majesty’s goodness, without making further use of
“ it, or suing out his pardon according to the for-
“ malities and rules of the law ; which, though ne-
“ cessary for his own security, would (being that
“ way made public) disenable him from doing his
“ majesty that service he intended, since he should
“ be admitted to those trusts, without which he
“ could make no discoveries.”

From henceforward, during the whole government of the earl of Strafford, he gave frequent advertisements of some agitations by obscure and unknown persons of that nation, at Rome, and in France and Spain ; which were rather instances of murmuring and seditious purposes, than, reasonably, like to produce any notable disturbance. From the beginning of the rebellion his power was very great with those who had been most (and he was with least dissimulation) violently opposite to any reconciliation, upon the first and second conclusion of peace by the confederate catholics ; and so he continued firm to that party which followed Owen O’Neal, or rather governed Owen O’Neal, who commanded that party ; and over and above those demands which concerned religion, (to which they seemed to adhere with more than ordinary zeal, and thereby drew the dependence of the clergy to them,) they insisted upon the restitution of the great estates in Ulster, which was not in the power of the crown to make, without the violation of several acts of parliament, and defeating many descents and purchases, which had passed with-

out any interruption or claim for the space of one hundred and fifty years. This impossible expectation kept both Owen O'Neal and the bishop of Clogher from concurring with the confederate catholics in the peace he made with his majesty; and the animosity they contracted against the confederates inclined them to relieve Londonderry, when (as it is remembered before) it was even ready to be reduced by his majesty's forces, rather than to submit to the peace made by them with the lord lieutenant. After they had found it necessary to make that agreement with the marquis, it must be acknowledged that the bishop performed, and observed it very justly, (as he was punctual in what he promised,) and applied himself with all dexterity and industry to the advancement of his majesty's interest; so that during his time he restrained the clergy in all their assemblies from making any acts which might discourage the people from their obedience to the king's authority; and therefore, how inconvenient soever his life had been to the peace and happiness of that nation, his death was very unseasonable; which was remarkable and notorious in these circumstances, that within less than a year after he had brought Owen O'Neal to relieve sir Charles Coote in Londonderry, (who must otherwise within a few days time have delivered it up to the king,) he was himself and his army very near the same place defeated by the same sir Charles Coote, and himself, after quarter and his life promised, executed by the positive order and command of him whom he had preserved.

Toward the end of July the marquis received a letter subscribed by the two persons, who styled

themselves the archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, in these words.

“ May it please your excellency,

Letter to
the lord
lieutenant
from the
titular
archbishops
of Dublin
and Tuam.

“ This nation, become of late a fable and reproach
“ of Christianity, is brought to a sad condition, not-
“ withstanding the frequent and laborious meetings
“ and consultations of the prelates; we find jealous-
“ sies and fears deep in the hearts of men, thorns
“ hard to take out; we see most men contributing
“ to the enemy, and rendering their persons and
“ substance useless to his majesty, and destructive to
“ religion and the king’s interest: this kind of men,
“ if not timely prevented, will betray irremediably
“ themselves and us: we find no stock or subsist-
“ ence ordered for maintaining the soldiers, nor is
“ there an army (any way considerable) in the king-
“ dom to recover what is lost, or defend what we
“ hold: so as, humanly speaking, if God will not be
“ pleased, for his mercy sake, to take off from us
“ the heavy judgment of his anger, we are fair for
“ losing sacred religion, the king’s authority, and
“ Ireland. The four archbishops, to acquit their con-
“ sciences in the eyes of God, have resolved to meet
“ at Jamestown, about the sixth day of the next
“ month, and to bring along with them as many of
“ the suffragans as may repair thither with safety:
“ the end of this consultation is to do what in us
“ lies for the amendment of all errors, and the reco-
“ very of this afflicted people. If your excellency
“ will think fit in your wisdom to send one or more
“ persons to make proposals for the safety of the
“ nation, we shall not want willingness to prepare
“ good answers; nor will we despair of the blessing

“ of God and of his powerful influence, to be upon
 “ our sincere intentions in that place; even so we
 “ conclude, remaining

“ Your excellency’s

July 24, 1650.

“ humble servants,

“ FA. THO. DUBLIN;

“ FA. AR. TUAM.”

Whoever reads this summons or invitation, will believe it to be *satis pro imperio*, and that such a direction to send one or more persons to make proposals to them for the safety of the nation, and that such a negligent expression (“ that we shall not want willingness to prepare good answers”) could not proceed but from some superior to an inferior dependent: however, as the marquis knew it would be to no purpose to inhibit their meeting, so he thought fit to write to them in this manner.

“ After our hearty commendations, we received Lord lieu-
 “ yours of the twenty-fourth of July on the first of ^{tenant’s} ~~answers.~~
 “ this month, and do with much grief acknowledge,
 “ that this nation is brought into a sad condition,
 “ and that by such means, as when it shall be known
 “ abroad, and by history delivered to posterity, will
 “ indeed be thought a fable; for it will seem incre-
 “ dible that any nation should so madly affect and
 “ violently pursue ways leading to their own de-
 “ struction, as this people will appear to have done;
 “ and that after the certain ruin they were running
 “ into was accidentally and frequently discovered
 “ unto those, that in all times, and upon all occa-
 “ sions, have had power to persuade or compel them
 “ to whatever they thought fit; and it will be less

“credible, when it shall be declared, as with truth
“it will be, that the temporal, spiritual, and eternal
“interest and safety even of those that had this
“power, (and that have been thus forewarned,) did
“consist in making use of it to reclaim the people,
“and direct them into the ways of preservation.
“To be plain, it cannot be denied but the dis-
“obediences we have met with, (which we at large
“declared to many of you, who with divers of the
“nobility and gentry were assembled at Loughreagh
“in April last,) were the certain ready ways to the
“destruction of this nation, as by our letters to the
“assembly we made apparent; and ancient and late
“experience hath made as evident, what power
“those of your function have had to draw the peo-
“ple of this nation to what they thought fit: whe-
“ther your lordships have been convinced that the
“obedience which we desired should be given to his
“majesty’s authority in us, pursuant to the articles
“of peace, was the way to preserve the nation, we
“know not; or whether your lordships have made
“use of all the means at other times, and upon
“other occasions exercised by you to procure this
“necessary obedience, we shall not now determine:
“sure we are, that since the said assembly, not only
“Limerick hath persisted in the disobedience it was
“then in, and aggravated the same by several af-
“fronts since fixed upon the king’s authority, but
“Galway hath been seduced into the like disobedi-
“ence, for want of a due compliance from those
“places, but principally from Limerick. It hath
“been impossible for us to raise or employ an army
“against the rebels; for to attempt it any where on
“the other side of the Shannon, but near Limerick.

“ and without absolute command of that city to se-
 “ cure it, could be no other than the certain ruin of
 “ the design in the very beginning of it; and to
 “ have done it on the other side the Shannon was
 “ impossible, since the groundwork of the army
 “ must be raised and supported from hence; which,
 “ while it was forming, would have exhausted all
 “ the substance of those parts, and not have effected
 “ the work: for want of such an army (which, with
 “ God’s assistance, might certainly have been long
 “ since raised, if Limerick had obeyed our orders)
 “ the rebels have, without any considerable resist-
 “ ance from abroad, taken Clonmell, Terroghan,
 “ and Catherlagh, and reduced Waterford and Dun-
 “ cannon to great (and we fear irrecoverable) dis-
 “ tress. The loss of those places, and the want of
 “ any visible power to protect them, have doubtless
 “ reduced many to contribute their substance and
 “ personal assistance to the rebels; from whence,
 “ whether they might have been held by your
 “ church censures, we know not; but have not
 “ heard of any such issued against them: and lastly,
 “ for want of such an army, the rebels have taken
 “ to themselves contributions, which might con-
 “ siderably have assisted to support an army, and
 “ preserve the kingdom. If therefore the end of
 “ your consultation at Jamestown be to acquit your
 “ consciences in the eyes of God, the amendment of
 “ all errors, and the recovery of this afflicted people,
 “ as by your letter, giving us notice of your meet-
 “ ing, is professed; we have endeavoured briefly to
 “ shew, that the spring of our past losses and ap-
 “ proaching ruin arises from disobedience; and it
 “ will not be hard to shew, that the spring of this

“ disobedience arises from the forgeries invented
 “ and calumnies spread against the government;
 “ and enticement of the people to rebellion, by very
 “ many of the clergy. That these are errors fre-
 “ quently practised, and fit for amendment, is no
 “ more to be doubted, than that, unless they be
 “ amended, the affliction of the people will continue,
 “ and, as it is to be feared, end in their utter de-
 “ struction; which if prevented by what your con-
 “ sultations will produce, the happy effect of your
 “ meeting will be acknowledged, without question-
 “ ing the authority by which you met. Proposals
 “ from us, other than what we have formerly, and
 “ now by this our letter, made, we hold not neces-
 “ sary. And so we bid your lordships heartily fare-
 “ well.

“ Your lordships’

Roscommon, Aug. 2, 1650.

“ affectionate friend,

“ ORMOND.”

Directed, “ *To our very good lords, the arch-
 “ bishops and bishops met at Jamestown.*”

Upon the receipt of this letter, the several bishops
 who met at Jamestown sent the bishop of Dromore
 and Dr. Charles Kelly to the lord lieutenant, with
 this letter of credit.

“ *May it please your excellency,*

Letter of
 credit from
 the bishops
 at James-
 town.

“ We received your excellency’s letter of the se-
 “ cond current, where, to our grief and admiration,
 “ we saw some expressions that seem meant for
 “ casting the blame upon us of the present sad con-
 “ dition of the kingdom, which we hope to answer
 “ to the satisfaction of your excellency and the

" whole nation : in the mean time we permit this
 " protestation, as we are Christian catholic prelates,
 " that we have done our endeavours, with all earn-
 " estness and candour, for the taking away from the
 " hearts of the people all jealousies and diffidencies,
 " that were conceived the occasion of so many dis-
 " asters that befell the nation ; and that, on all oc-
 " casions, our actions and cooperations were ready to
 " accompany all your excellency's designs for the pre-
 " servation of his majesty's interest in this kingdom ;
 " whose state being in the present desperate condi-
 " tion, we have thought it our duty to offer to your
 " excellency our sense of the only possibility we could
 " devise for its preservation ; and that by the inter-
 " vention and expression of the lord bishop of Dro-
 " more and Dr. Charles Kelly, dean of Tuam, who
 " shall clearly deliver unto your excellency our
 " thoughts and good intentions, as to this effect ;
 " praying your excellency to give full credit to what
 " they will declare in our names in this business,
 " which will be still owned as our commands laid
 " upon them, and the declaration of the sincere
 " hearts of

Jamestown, Aug. 10, 1650. " Your excellency's

" most humble servants,

" *H. Armagh, Jo. archiep. Tuam, Nicholas*
 " *Fernensis et procurator archiep. Dublin,*
 " *Jo. Rapotensis, Eug. Killmore, Fa. An-*
 " *tonius Clunmacnocen. Arth. Duecen. et*
 " *procurator Leighlin," &c.*

When the two persons intrusted had delivered their credential letter to the lord lieutenant, he wished them, in regard of the importance of the

matter they were intrusted with, to deliver what they had in command in writing: whereupon they presented him with a paper, containing these words.

“ May it please your excellency,

Paper delivered to the lord lieutenant.

“ We being intrusted from the clergy met at Jamestown to deliver a message to your excellency, importing their advice, what the only means is, as they conceive, that may serve to free the nation from the sad condition whereunto it is reduced at present, do, in obedience to your excellency’s commands, signified for giving the substance of that message in writing, humbly represent the same to be as follows.

“ That whereas your excellency, they doubt not, hath laboured, by other hands, to bring the best aids that possibly could be had from abroad, for the relief of this gasping nation; yet finding now, in their consciences, no other expedient remedy for the preservation thereof, and of his majesty’s interest therein, more prevalent than your excellency’s speedy repair to his majesty, for the preventing the ruin and desolation of all, and leaving the king’s authority in the hands of some person or persons faithful to his majesty, and trusty to the nation, and such as the affections and confidence of the people will follow, by which the rage and fury of the enemy will receive interruption; they humbly offer this important matter, of the safety or destruction of this nation and the king’s interest, to your wisdom and consideration; hoping that the kingdom, by your excellency’s presence with his majesty, and intrusting the king’s authority safely, as above, may, by God’s blessing,

" hold out, till relieved with supplies from his ma-
 " jesty: the prelates in the mean time will do what
 " lies in their power to assist the person or persons
 " so intrusted. The great trust his majesty doth
 " repose in your excellency, the vast interest of for-
 " tune, the alliance and kindred you have in the na-
 " tion, and your experience in the management of
 " affairs of the greatest consequence, will, we doubt
 " not, added to the other reasons proposed by us,
 " induce you to embrace their advice, as proceeding
 " from our pious intention, that look only upon the
 " preservation of the catholic religion, the support
 " of his majesty's authority, and the estates, liber-
 " ties, and fortunes of his subjects of this kingdom,
 " which we heartily offer, as

" Your excellency's

Aug. 13th, 1650.

" most humble servants,

" FR. OLIVER DROMORE,

" CHARLES KELLY."

Though the marquis did not expect that the
 meeting of the bishops and clergy in that manner at
 Jamestown would have produced any better effect
 than their former meetings in other places had
 done, yet he could not imagine that their presump-
 tion would have been so great, as it appeared by
 this message to be; and when he communicated it
 to the commissioners of trust, they were no less
 scandalized at it, and believed that, upon a serious
 conference with the bishops, they should be able to
 reform their understandings and their wills; and
 therefore desired the marquis, that instead of send-
 ing a particular answer to the matter of the mes-
 sage, he would write to them to give him a meeting

Lord lieutenant appoints a meeting with the Irish bishops at Loghreagh.

at Loghreagh, on the 26th of the same month; to the end, that, upon a free conference, they might be induced to understand how pernicious a thing they had devised in order to their own security.

But rejected; and only two persons sent to receive his

Answer to their proposition.

The bishop of Drogheda and Dr. Kelly returned with this proposition; and the marquis making no doubt of their compliance, so far as to meet at the place he had appointed, went thither at the day assigned. They suffered the marquis to make a journey to Loghreagh, at the time appointed; but, instead of meeting him themselves, they sent their bishops of Cork and Clonfert, no otherwise intrusted than to receive his answer to the proposition they had made for his leaving the kingdom: to which, when he saw he could not draw them to a conference, he returned, "that they might well remember, that upon the disobedience he had formerly met with, he had obtained leave from his majesty to depart the kingdom; and that if themselves, the bishops, the nobility, and gentry met together, had not, in April last, in writing and discourse, given him assurance, that they not only desired his stay, but would endeavour to procure such obedience to him as might enable him (with hope of success) to have carried on the war, he would have made use of the liberty given unto him by his majesty, to have freed himself from the vexation which he had since endured, and the dishonour which he foresaw he should be subject to, for want of that power; without which (as he had then told them) he should be able to do nothing considerable for the king or the nation: that he had transmitted those assurances to his majesty, with his own resolution to attend the ef-

"fects: that he plainly observed that though the
 "division was great in the nation, under his govern-
 "ment, yet it would be greater upon his removal;
 "of which, in a free conference, he would have
 "given them such pregnant evidence, as he held not
 "fit to declare to them in writing. For these and
 "other reasons, he told them, that, unless he were
 "forced by inevitable necessity, he was not willing
 "to remove out of the kingdom; and desired them
 "to use all the means within their power to dispose
 "the people to that dutifulness and obedience that
 "became them."

This wrought nothing on the temper of those
 men, who were resolved not to be satisfied with any
 thing the marquis could say to them; insomuch
 that within few days after they had received his an-
 swer from Loghreagh, at a time when the rebels
 were strong in the field, and had then passed the
 Shannon, if they had not been restrained by the few
 troops the marquis still kept on foot, they published
 an excommunication against all those, of what qua-
 lity soever, who should feed, help, or adhere to the
 lord lieutenant: in which this circumstance is ob-
 servable; that though they did not publish this ex-
 communication until the 15th of September, it was
 enacted, at their assembly at Jamestown, on the
 12th of August; which was within two days after
 they had sent the bishop of Dromore and Dr. Kelly
 to persuade the marquis to leave the kingdom, and
 the day before they delivered their message, which
 was on the 13th: so that they thought any thing
 that the lord lieutenant should return to them
 would be impertinent to the matter in hand; nor, if
 they were not so delighted with their own proceed-

Whereupon
 they extra-
 vagantly
 excommu-
 nicate all
 who should
 adhere to
 the lord
 lieutenant.

ings that they have themselves carefully published their acts to the world in print, would it be believed, that persons, who in the least degree pretended a care of the people's welfare or security, could, at such a time, (when a potent, bloody, and malicious enemy was in the field,) set all men loose from all government, civil and martial, and not direct them whom they should follow or obey; for if it be said, "that they were advised to return to their association, and, until a general assembly of the nation could be conveniently called, unanimously to serve against the common enemy:" since no persons were named or appointed to conduct them, it must be acknowledged, that they were left without any directions at all, to the rage and fury of those who intended nothing but their utter extirpation.

And publish
a Declara-
tion.

Together with their excommunication, they published in the head of the army, a declaration, intitled, "A Declaration of the archbishops, bishops, "and other prelates and dignitaries of the regular "and secular clergy of the kingdom of Ireland, "against the continuance of his majesty's authority "in the marquis of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, for the misgovernment of the subject, and "the ill conduct of his majesty's army, and the violation of the articles of peace;" dated at Jamestown, in the convent of the Friars Minors, 12th August, 1650.

If the archbishops, bishops, and the secular and regular clergy of Ireland, will take upon them to declare against the king's authority where his majesty hath placed it, and will make themselves judges of his supreme minister, for the misgovern-

ment of the subject, and the ill conduct of his majesty's army; they assume an authority to themselves, which no other Christian clergy ever pretended; and sufficiently declare to the king, how far they are from being subjects, or intending to pay him any obedience, longer than they are governed in such manner and by such persons as they think fit to be pleased with.

If the marquis of Ormond had misgoverned the people, and conducted his majesty's army amiss, the clergy are not competent judges of the one or the other; and for the violation of the articles of the peace, the commissioners, nominated and authorized to provide for the due execution of them, were the only persons who could determine and remedy such violations, and who well knew there was no cause for that complaint; but that, on the other hand, the clergy had (as hath been before mentioned) obstructed that concurrence and obedience in the people, without which those articles could not be observed, or the security of the people provided for.

The preface of that declaration, (according to Purport of the declaration. their usual method,) "justified and magnified their
 " piety and virtue in the beginning and carrying on
 " of the war; extolled their duty and affection to
 " the king, in submitting to him, and returning to
 " their allegiance, when (they said) they could have
 " had better or as good conditions from the rebels
 " of England; intimated what a vast sum of money
 " they had provided, near half a million of English
 " pounds, besides several magazines of corn, with a
 " fair train of artillery, great quantity of powder,
 " match, and ammunition, with other materials for
 " the carrying on the war, and many other parti-

Untruth
thereof.

“culars of that nature,” the monstrous untruth whereof doth sufficiently appear in what hath been said before ; the marquis having been forced to borrow those little sums of money out of the pockets of his friends, and to spend all that he raised (upon the sale of good quantities of his own land) for the support of his wife and children, to enable the army to march, and which was never repaid to him ; and the magazine of corn, ammunition, and other materials for war being so absolutely unfurnished, that it was not possible for him to reduce those small forts of Maryborow and Athy, held by Owen O’Neal’s party, till he had by his own power and interest procured some supplies ; when he did likewise contract with a merchant, and assign all the king’s dues upon the customs and other duties for the payment for arms (and for which that merchant remains still unsatisfied) to a great value : so far were these men from making that provision they brag of.

What conditions they might have had from the rebels of England may be concluded by the usage they have since found, the Divine justice having made that bloody people more merciless towards those, (whose frowardness, obstinacy, and treachery against the king’s authority contributed most to their service,) than against any who worthily opposed them, and were most enemies to their proceedings.

They endeavoured by all imaginable reproaches and calumnies to lessen the people’s reverence towards the lord lieutenant, laying such aspersions on him in the said declaration, as might most alienate their affections, though themselves knew them to be untrue, and without colour. They complained that

he had given many commissions for colonels and other commands to protestants, and upon them consumed the substance of the kingdom, who most of them either betrayed or deserted the service; whereas they well knew there was not one protestant officer, to whom the lord lieutenant gave a commission, who betrayed any place committed to him, or was otherwise treated, in order to their support, than all other officers of the same condition in the army; nor did they quit the service until after many of them had gallantly lost their lives; and that the clergy had so far incensed the people against them, only for being protestants, that the marquis was compelled to give them passes to depart the kingdom, or otherwise to dispose of themselves; and the rebels were very glad to let them pass through their quarters, or to remain in them, that thereby they might deprive the king of the only strength they apprehended, officers of such known courage and conduct.

They accused him of improvidence in conducting the army after the defeat at Rathmines, of not relieving Drogheda, of permitting play, drinking, and license in the camp, and such bold aspersions as, without examination, might gain credit with the people, and reflect upon his honour, where he was not enough known; whereas the action of Rathmines is set down before at large, and the taking of Drogheda by storm, when it was scarce apprehended, and it is notoriously known, that in his own person he was so strict and vigilant, that he gave not himself leave to enjoy those pleasures and liberties which might very well have consisted with the office and duty of the most severe general, and

that in above three months time (which was from his first drawing the forces to a rendezvous, till after the misfortune at Rathmines) he never slept out of his clothes: so that the malice and drift of those unreasonable and senseless calumnies are easy enough to be discerned, and can only make impression upon vulgar minds, not enough informed of the humour and spirit of the contrivers.

They magnified exceedingly the merit of the prelates, the declaration they had made in their congregation at Clanmacnois, their frequent expressions of their sincerity, and most blamed the marquis for not making use of their power and diligence towards the advancing the king's interest, but rather for suspecting and blaming them by his letter to the prelates at Jamestown, of the second of August, (which is before remembered;) and they said, that words were heard to fall from him dangerous as to the persons of some of the prelates: to all which little need be said, since there is before so full and just mention of their fair declaration and profession, and their actions which accompanied them: and for the danger the persons of some of the prelates were in, they will be ashamed to urge, when it is known that their bishop of Killaloe was brought to him in custody, even after he had signed this declaration and excommunication, and set at liberty by him; and whom the bishops themselves, in their letter to the earl of Westmeath, do acknowledge to be preserved by the marquis; and for which many will rather expect an apology, than for any jealousy he could entertain of persons, who behaved themselves in that manner towards the king's lieutenant.

They charged him with having represented to his majesty, that some parts of the kingdom were disobedient, which absolutely denied any disobedience by them committed; and that thereby he had procured from his majesty a letter to withdraw his own person and the royal authority, if such disobedience was multiplied, and so leave the people without the benefit of the peace: this was the reward, they said, his excellency, out of his envy to a catholic loyal nation, prepared for their loyalty, sealed with the shedding of their blood, and the loss of their substance.

Whether the obstinate and rebellious carriage of Waterford and Limerick, which brought destruction upon themselves, did not deserve and require such a representation to be made to the king, may be judged by all men, upon what hath been before truly set down of those particulars; and if the prelates themselves had not acknowledged and seemed to lament those acts of disobedience, and had not most earnestly dissuaded him from leaving the kingdom, and promised all their endeavours to reduce the people to obedience, (which was only in their power to have done,) the marquis had been much to blame, longer to have exposed himself and his honour to those reproaches, and to have suffered his person, with the impotent name of lieutenant of Ireland, to have remained within that kingdom, and every day to hear of the rendering and betraying of places to the rebels, which he could no more remedy, than he could infuse a spirit of obedience, unity, and understanding, into that unhappy infatuated nation: yet he was so far from wishing that his majesty should absolutely withdraw his royal authority from them, (how unworthy soever they

made themselves of it,) that he always offered to leave the king's power in the person of the marquis of Clanrickard, as he afterwards did; hoping, that since their great exception to him was for being a protestant, they would with all alacrity have complied with the other, who is known to be a most zealous Roman catholic, and whose affection and integrity to his majesty was as unquestionable.

They reproached him, that while he was an enemy to the catholics, he had been very active in unnatural executions against them, and shedding the blood of poor priests and churchmen; but that since the peace he had shewed little of action, and then kept himself in Connaught and Thomond, where no danger was, and the enemy appeared not; so that they would neither suffer him to have an army to oppose the rebels, nor be contented that he should retire into those places where the enemy could least infest him, and from whence, with those few troops which remained with him, he defended the Shannon, and kept the rebels from getting over the river while he stayed there; and for the former activity and success against them, which they were content to impute to him, it was when he had a free election of officers, and an absolute power over his garrisons, where he caused the soldiers to be continually exercised, and their arms kept in order; and from whence he could have drawn his army together, and have marched with it to what place he would, which advantages he was now without, and the rebels were possessed of: and therefore it was no wonder that they now obtained their victories as easily as he had done formerly. But since they were so disingenuous and ingrateful (there being

many among them, whose lives he had saved with apparent danger to himself) to charge him with being active in unnatural executions against them, and in shedding the blood of poor priests and churchmen; and for the improvement and propagation of that calumny, it hath pleased some persons to cause that declaration to be translated into Latin, and printed, thereby to make him odious to the Roman catholics; and have named two priests, who, they say, were by his orders executed, and put to death in cold blood, and after his promise given to save their lives, whose names were Mr. Higgins and Mr. White: it will not be impertinent to set down at large the case of these two persons, that from thence, men who have no mind to be deceived and misled may judge of the candour and sincerity of those persons who would obtrude such calumnies to the world.

It must therefore in the first place be known, that when those two priests were put to death, the war was conducted and carried on by the two houses of parliament; that the government of Ireland was in the hands of the two lords justices, Parsons and Borlace, who, upon the cruelties first practised by the Irish catholics in the beginning of the rebellion, had forbidden any quarter to be given, and taken all ways to incense the soldiers against the Irish nation, and principally against all priests; and the marquis of Ormond was only then lieutenant general of the army, and received all orders from the lords justices, who were jealous of him, as a person who dissembled not his devotion to the king, and who were directed to watch his actions as strictly as if he had been their enemy. At this

time, the marquis having intelligence that a party of the rebels intended to be at such a time at the Naas, he drew some troops together with a hope of surprising them; and marching all night, came early in the morning into the town, from whence the rebels, upon notice, were newly fled: in this town some of the soldiers found Mr. Higgins, who might, it is true, easily have fled, if he had apprehended any danger in the stay. When he was brought before the marquis, he voluntarily acknowledged that he was a priest, and that his residence was in that town, from whence he refused to fly away with those who were guilty, because he not only knew himself very innocent, but believed that he should not be without ample evidence of it, having by his sole charity and power preserved very many of the English protestants from the rage and fury of the Irish; and therefore he only besought the marquis, by his authority, to preserve him from the violence of the soldiers, and to put him securely into Dublin, to be tried for any crime; which the marquis promised to do, and performed it; though with so much hazard, that when it was spread abroad among the soldiers that he was a priest, the officer into whose custody he was intrusted, was assaulted by them, and it was as much as the marquis could do to relieve him, and compose the mutiny. When he came to Dublin, he informed the lords justices of the prisoner he had brought with him, of the good testimony he had received of his peaceable carriage, of the pains he had taken to restrain those with whom he had credit from entering into rebellion, and of the very many charitable offices he had performed; of which there wanted not evi-

dence enough, there being many then in Dublin, who owed their lives, and whatsoever of their fortunes was left, purely to him: so that he doubted not, he would be worthy of their protection. Within a few days after, when the marquis did not suspect the poor man to be in danger, he heard that sir Charles Coote, who was provost marshal general, had taken him out of prison, and caused him to be put to death in the morning, before, or as soon as it was light; of which barbarity, when the lord marquis complained to the lords justices, he was so far from bringing the other to be questioned, that he found himself to be upon some disadvantage for thinking the proceeding to be other than it ought in justice to have been. This was the case of Mr. Higgins, and this the marquis's part in it; and the poor man was so far from complaining of his breach of promise at his death, (how confidently soever it may be averred,) that he exceedingly acknowledged the favour he had received from his lordship, prayed for his prosperity, and lamented his want of power to do that which the world saw his inclination prompted him to. The proceeding against Mr. White was very different, and in this manner. The marquis being upon the march with the army, he quartered one night at Clonie, (a house of the earl of Westmeath's, who was residing there with his wife and family;) when he was at supper, many of the officers being at the table, the lady of the house, upon some whisper she received from a servant, expressed some trouble in her countenance; which the marquis (who sat next her) perceiving, asked her what the matter was: she told him in his ear, that she was in great apprehension on the behalf of an

An instance
of the
bloody dis-
position of
the English
rebels.

honest man who was in her house, and much feared the soldiers, confessing that he was a priest. The marquis replied, that if he was in the house, and kept himself there, he was in no danger; for as the soldiers would attempt nothing while he the marquis stayed there, so he would leave a guard at his departure, that should secure it against stragglers, or any party that should stay behind; which he did accordingly. In the morning, when he was ready to march, he received information that the rebels were possessed of a pass by which he was to go; whereupon he sent some troops to get a ford, three miles from the way the army was to march, and by that means to come upon the rear of the rebels by the time the army could come to the pass; which being done, (after a short encounter, in which many were killed,) the rebels were put to flight, and the pass gained. In this action Mr. White was taken on horseback with a case of pistols, who desired to be brought to the marquis; which being done, he told him he was the person for whom the countess of Westmeath had besought his favour the night before, and that his lordship had promised that he should be safe. The marquis told him, that if he was the same person, it was his own fault that he was not safe; if he had stayed in the house he was in, this had not befallen him; that it was now out of his power to preserve him, himself being bound to observe those orders which the lords justices had given him. Nevertheless he did endeavour to have saved him, at least till he might be brought to Dublin: but the whole army (which was possessed by the parliament at Westminster, and by the lords justices, with a very bitter spirit against the Roman

catholic clergy) mutinied upon it, and in the end compelled the marquis to leave him to that justice which they were authorized to execute; and so the man was by them put to death. Who can now, upon these two instances, (and no other have been or can be given,) reasonably or honestly say, that the marquis hath had his hands defiled with the blood of priests? And from the time that he had the chief power committed to him, there was not only any priest (how maliciously, or rebelliously, or treacherously soever they behaved themselves to the king's service, and to the person of the lord lieutenant) who suffered death, but all other acts of rage and blood, which are not necessary, though hardly avoidable in the most just war, were declined and discountenanced by him.

I shall pass over the many tautologies and other impertinent calumnies in the said declaration; all which are sufficiently answered and cleared by what is already contained in this narrative; and shall only insert the conclusion in their own words, which were as followeth: "For the prevention of these
 " evils, and that the kingdom may not be utterly
 " lost to his majesty and his catholic subjects, this
 " congregation of archbishops, bishops, and other
 " prelates and dignitaries of both clergies of this
 " kingdom, found ourselves bound in conscience
 " (after great deliberation) to declare against the
 " continuance of his majesty's authority in the per-
 " son of the lord marquis of Ormond; having by
 " his misgovernment, ill conduct of his majesty's
 " army, and breach of public faith with the people,
 " in the several particulars of the articles of peace,
 " rendered himself incapable of continuing that great

Conclusion
of the de-
claration.

“ trust any longer, being questionable before his
“ majesty for the aforesaid injuries and ill govern-
“ ment, (to which effect we will join with other
“ members of this kingdom in drawing a charge
“ against him :) and we hereby manifest unto the
“ people, that they are no longer obliged to obey
“ the orders and commands of the said lord marquis
“ of Ormond ; but are, until a general assembly of
“ the nation can be conveniently called together,
“ unanimously to serve against the common enemy,
“ for defence of the catholic religion, his majesty’s
“ interest, their liberties, lives, and fortunes, in pur-
“ suance of the oath of association ; and to observe
“ in the mean time the form of government the said
“ congregation shall prescribe, until otherwise or-
“ dered by an assembly, or until, by application to
“ his majesty, he settle the same otherwise. And
“ we do fulminate the annexed excommunication of
“ one date with this declaration, against all opposers
“ of the same declaration.”

It would probably appear an unnecessary, and might be thought an uncharitable sharpness to inveigh against, or to observe by a gloss or paraphrase, the logic and unavoidable consequence of the doctrine and particular conclusion in this monstrous declaration ; since all sober professors of the Roman catholic religion must abhor it, as aiming at, and indeed assuming a jurisdiction, which the united body of the prelates and clergy in no one catholic kingdom or country do pretend to have, and containing several clauses, which by the established laws of every kingdom and country in Christendom are manifestly treasonable : and it is much more requisite to vindicate the marquis from the very natural im-

putation of levity, and most supine remissness of government, for not chastising and suppressing that seditious spirit in the clergy, which, from the very conclusion of the peace, perplexed and disturbed him in whatsoever he went about, and infused jealousies and distrusts into the hearts of the people; and that he did not, upon this last transcendent treason of the bishops, seize upon their persons, and proceed against them in an exemplary way of justice: at least that he did not apprehend the ring-leaders of them, after they had published their wicked and rebellious excommunication, and taken some sudden vengeance upon them by any act of outrage, when there was no means for a formal proceeding by the common rules of justice, before the effects of their presumption should have been discerned, by the shrinking away and disbanding those few troops which then remained: and there is no doubt but he will be thought by all, who are not enough acquainted with the temper of that people, much more liable to reproaches of that kind, than to the other, of rigour and severity against the Roman catholics, of which he was not in the least degree guilty. But the truth is, he will easily be absolved from that reprehension by all who are sufficiently informed of the incredible and unreasonable reverence which the common people of that nation pay to their clergy, of how inferior a rank soever, and that they have all their directions and determinations in that absurd veneration, that when a regiment hath been marching by order of their general, a seditious friar hath put himself into the head of them, taken the colours in his hand, and pronounced

damnation to those who should presume to march ; whereupon, notwithstanding all the commands of their superior officers, who (though Roman catholics) were for the most part scandalized at the demeanour of their clergy, all the soldiers have thrown down their arms, and departed to their several habitations, as it fell out in an expedition at Kilkenny.

Nor was it possible for the marquis to procure justice to be inflicted in a civil or a martial way upon any ecclesiastical person, let his crime be what it would ; since even they whose zeal and affection to his majesty's service was unquestionable, and who were as highly offended at that intolerable carriage and proceeding of the bishops and clergy as they ought to be, and whose duty was not in the least degree shaken by their declaration and excommunication, were yet so tender of those immunities and privileges which were said to belong to the church, and so jealous of the behaviour of the people in any case which should be declared a violation of those privileges, that they would by no means have a hand in the inflicting capital punishment upon any churchman, without the approbation and cooperation of the bishops, who were not like to be so hard-hearted as to consent to any judgment upon the accessories in those crimes, in which themselves were the principals ; so that he must not only have determined by his own single will and judgment what was to be done in those cases, but he must have executed that determination with his own hand : and this consideration obliged the marquis to all those condescensions and sufferings, and upon all occasions to endeavour to dispose and dissuade those prelates

from any obstinate and ruinous resolutions, rather than to declare them to be enemies whom he could neither reform nor punish.

The excommunication was no sooner published by the congregation, and consented to, and approved by the other part of the bishops and clergy who were sitting at Galway, but they quickly discerned how imprudently, as well as unwarrantably, they had proceeded in order to their own ends; and that they had taken care only to dissolve and disband all their forces, without making any kind of provision for the opposition of the rebels, who had quickly notice of their ridiculous madness, and were thereupon advancing with their whole power upon them: the people, who generally foresaw what must be the issue of that confusion, thought of nothing but compounding with the rebels upon any conditions: the nobility, and principal gentry, and the commissioners of trust, who saw the whole power and jurisdiction wrested from them, and assumed and exercised by the congregation, continued their application to the lord lieutenant, and desired him not to leave them exposed to the confusion which must attend his departure: the gravest and most pious of the clergy lamented the unskilful spirit of the rest; and even some of the bishops, and others who were present at the congregation, and subscribed the excommunication, disclaimed their having consented to it, though they were obliged to sign it for conformity; so that they found it necessary, within less than three days after the publishing it, to suspend that dreadful sentence: and yet, that it might appear how unwillingly they did those acts of gentleness and sobriety, it will not be amiss to

The consequences of the wild proceedings of the Irish prelates.

set down the letter itself, which the titular bishop of Clonfert and Dr. Charles Kelly wrote to the officers of the army under the command of the lord marquis of Clanrickard, to that purpose; which was in these words:

Letter to
suspend the
excommu-
nication.

“ Yesterday we received an express from the rest
“ of our congregation at Galway, bearing their sense
“ to suspend the effects of the excommunication
“ proclaimed by their orders till the service of Ath-
“ lone be performed, fearing on the one side the dis-
“ persion of the army, and on the other side having
“ received most certain intelligence of the enemy’s
“ approach to that place, with their full force and
“ number of fighting men; and thereupon would
“ have us concur with them in suspending the said
“ excommunication. As for our parts, we do judge
“ that suspension to be unnecessary and full of in-
“ conveniencies, which we apprehend may ensue,
“ because the excommunication may be obeyed, and
“ the service not neglected, if the people were
“ pleased to undertake the service in the clergy’s
“ name, without relation to the lord of Ormond, or
“ any that may take his part; yet fearing the cen-
“ sure of singularity in a matter of so high a strain
“ against us, or to be deemed more forward in ex-
“ communicating than others, also fearing the weak-
“ ness of some, (which we believe the congregation
“ feared,) we are pleased to follow the major vote,
“ and, against our own opinion, concur with them;
“ and do hereby suspend the said censure, as above;
“ provided always, that after that service performed,
“ or the service be thought unnecessary by the
“ clergy, or when the said clergy shall renew it,

“ it shall be presently incurred, as if the said sus-
 “ pension had never been interposed; and so we
 “ remain,

“ Your assured loving
Corbie, Sept. 16th, 1650. “ friends in Christ,
 “ WALTER BISHOP OF CLONFERT,
 “ CHARLES KELLY.”

If these authentic evidences (of the truth whereof there is not room for the least doubt) were not inserted, who could believe it possible, that men endued with common understanding, and professing the doctrine of Christianity and the allegiance of subjects, could, upon deliberation, publish such decrees? And who can wonder, that a people enslaved to, and conducted by, such spiritual leaders, should become a prey to any enemy, though supplied with less power, vigilance, and dexterity, than those prosperous rebels always were, who have prevailed against them; and who, by all kind of reproaches, rigour, and tyranny, have made that unhappy congregation pay dear interest for the contempt and indignity, with which they prosecuted their sovereign and his authority.

Though most of the commissioners of trust, and all the principal nobility, and the most considerable gentry, remained, in their particular affections and resolutions, firm and unshaken in their devotion to the king, and in their submission to the authority of his lieutenant, (notwithstanding the declaration and excommunication;) yet there fell out an unhappy accident, which in this conjuncture seemed to give some countenance, and did procure much submission, to that extravagant act of the clergy. The

The king forced to acts, which gave countenance to this behaviour of the Irish prelates.

king was in Scotland, and was about that time, by that fierce and unskilful party which was then possessed of the whole power in the kingdom, absolutely forced to consent, that is, to set his hand, to several papers which were proposed and brought to him, and without the doing whereof he was plainly told he should have no power or authority over that people, not without implication enough, that his person would not long remain at liberty; and they who would have opposed those proceedings, both for the matter and manner, if they had been able, were as importunate with his majesty to redeem himself from the mischiefs which threatened him, by complying with what he could not control, as the only means to recover that power which was usurped from him, and which indeed in a short time he did, to a great degree, reduce to the proper channel. Amongst the papers so obtained as aforesaid, there was a declaration in his majesty's name, "by which the peace concluded with the Irish catholics in the year 1648, by authority from the late king of ever glorious memory, and confirmed *by his majesty who now reigns*, was pronounced and adjudged to be void, and that his majesty was absolved from any observation of it;" and this not grounded on those particular breaches, violations, and affronts, which had been offered to his majesty's authority, and contrary to the express articles, provisions, and promises of that treaty of peace; but upon the supposed unlawfulness of concluding any peace with those persons, who were branded with many ignominies and reproaches. Albeit this declaration in truth issued (in point of time) in Scotland after the excommunication by the congregation at

Jamestown; yet the notice of it came so near the time of the publication of the other, that the clergy inserted it in their declaration, as if it had been one of the principal causes and foundations of their excommunication, and depriving the marquis of his authority, and the affections of all their people who were concerned in their interest to have the peace observed, (which they looked upon as the only foundation of security for the nation and for their particular fortunes,) and were willing to hearken to any counsels which were most like to provide that that peace should be made effectual and valid to them.

When the marquis first heard mention of that declaration in Scotland, he did really believe it a forgery, contrived, either by the English rebels or the Irish congregation, to seduce the people from their affection and loyalty to the king; but when soon after he was assured what condition his majesty was in, and that in truth such a declaration was published in his name, he immediately issued out his orders for the meeting of an assembly at Loughreagh on the fifteenth of November; and in the meantime, on the twenty-third of October, for the better composing the minds of men, and preventing those distempers, (which might be infused,) he wrote to the commissioners of trust, and took notice of that declaration which was published in Scotland, and told them, “ that however the affronts put upon his “ authority had been many, and were obstinately “ persisted in to that day, and in such places, where- “ upon evidently depended the preservation or loss “ of the whole kingdom, whereof he had several “ times given notice to them, and followed the ways “ advised by them for reclaiming the said places

Conduct of
the mar-
quis on the
king's
forced de-
claration.

His letter
to the com-
missioners
of trust.

“ without success ; yet, considering the declaration
“ gained from his majesty was without hearing what
“ could be said by the nation in their own defence,
“ and such as involved it generally, without excep-
“ tion, in the guilt of rebellion ; he thought fit to
“ let them know, that since the said declaration was
“ by undue means obtained from his majesty, he
“ was resolved, by all the means it should please
“ God to offer unto him, and through all hazards, in
“ the behalf of the nation, to insist upon and assert
“ the lawfulness of the conclusion of the peace by
“ virtue of the aforesaid authority ; and that the
“ said peace was still valid and binding to his ma-
“ jesty and all his subjects : and herein he told
“ them, he was resolved, by the help of God, to per-
“ sist, until both himself, and such as should in that
“ behalf be intrusted and authorized by the nation,
“ should have free and safe access to his majesty ;
“ and until, upon mature and unrestrained consider-
“ ation on what might on all sides be said, his ma-
“ jesty should have declared his royal pleasure upon
“ all the affronts which had been put upon his author-
“ ity ; provided, that upon this engagement of his,
“ first, That all the acts, declarations, and excommu-
“ nications, issued by the bishops against his author-
“ ity, and the people’s giving obedience thereunto,
“ should be by them revoked, and such assurance
“ given as should be agreed by him and the com-
“ missioners of trust ; that they, nor any of them,
“ should attempt the like for the future, and that
“ they should contain themselves within the bounds
“ prescribed by the articles of the peace, whereto
“ they were parties. Secondly, That it should im-
“ mediately be declared by the commissioners of

“trust, that the said declarations, excommunica-
 “tions, and other proceedings of the said bishops,
 “was an unwarrantable usurpation upon his ma-
 “jesty’s just authority, and in them a violation of
 “the peace; and that in case the bishops should not
 “give the assurance before expressed, or, having
 “given it, should not observe the same, that they
 “would endeavour to bring the offenders to condign
 “punishment, pursuant unto, and as is prescribed
 “by, the laws of the kingdom. Thirdly, That a
 “like declaration should be made by all that derive
 “authority from his majesty, civil or martial, and
 “by the respective mayors, aldermen, common coun-
 “cilmen, burgesses, and other magistrates in the
 “corporations of the kingdom. Fourthly, That the
 “lord lieutenant should be permitted to make his
 “free and safe residence in any place he should
 “choose within the limits not possessed by the re-
 “bels. Fifthly, That he should be immediately
 “suffered to garrison such places and in such man-
 “ner, according to the articles of peace, as he should
 “find necessary for the defence of the kingdom. In
 “the last place, he wished that some course might
 “be taken for his support in some proportion an-
 “swerable to his place, yet with regard to the state
 “of the kingdom; which last he said he should not
 “propose, but that he was deprived of all his own
 “fortune, whereupon he had wholly subsisted ever
 “since his coming into the kingdom.”

The commissioners of trust received his letter with all demonstration of respect and satisfaction, Answer of the com-
missioners. and the very next day returned him an answer; in which, after they had lamented the issuing out that declaration in Scotland, they said, “It greatly com-

“forted them to understand that his excellency was
“resolved, through all hazards, in behalf of the na-
“tion, to insist upon and to assert that peace, and
“persist in so doing, until he, or such as should be in-
“trusted and authorized by the nation, should have
“free and safe access unto his majesty, and as to
“those provisoes which were expressed as necessary
“conditions for the continuance of his majesty’s au-
“thority among them; which they said they did
“(notwithstanding the said declaration) still em-
“brace and reverence:” beside their general profes-
sion to act what lay within their power in the ways
of his majesty’s service, and to the satisfaction of his
lieutenant, they returned these ensuing answers.

As to the first, concerning the revocation of those
acts, declaration, and excommunication, issued by the
bishops, and the assurance demanded, that nothing
of that kind should be attempted for the future;
they said, “That his excellency (to whom they had
“often expressed their resentment of such their
“proceedings) might be confident they would la-
“bour, as far as in them lay, to see his excellency
“satisfied in that particular; and to that end they
“would all, or some of them, with his allowance,
“and as he should think fit, repair to Galway, to
“treat with the prelates upon that subject.” To
the second they answered, “That albeit they knew,
“that by the censures of the bishops his majesty’s
“authority was invaded, and an unwarranted go-
“vernment set up, contrary to the laws of the king-
“dom; and that they were assured no subject could
“be justly warranted by that excommunication to
“deny obedience to his majesty’s authority in his
“excellency; yet being of opinion that a public de-

"claration of that kind in that conjuncture of affairs
 "ought properly, and would with more countenance
 "and authority move from an assembly than from
 "them, and that from such a public declaration at
 "that time from themselves, they should wholly ob-
 "struct the way to prevail with the prelates to with-
 "draw those censures or acts which was desired by
 "the former proposition, and likewise endanger the
 "union that was necessary at present, in opposing
 "the common enemy, and prejudice the hopes of a
 "more perfect union for the future, wherein the
 "preservation of all the nation would principally
 "consist : they did therefore most humbly beseech his
 "excellency to call an assembly of the nation, from
 "whom such a declaration, as might be effectual in
 "that behalf, and might settle those distractions,
 "could only proceed : yet if in the mean time, and
 "before the meeting of that assembly, those cen-
 "sures then suspended should be revived, they
 "would endeavour to suppress their influence upon
 "the people by such a declaration, as should be-
 "come loyal subjects, and men intrusted to see all
 "due obedience paid to his majesty's government
 "over the whole kingdom." To the third they an-
 "swered, "That they would at all times, and in such
 "manner as his excellency should think fit to pre-
 "scribe, invite all or any of his majesty's Roman
 "catholic subjects to such a declaration, which yet
 "(until they should understand the clergy's sense
 "upon the first proposition) they said they did hum-
 "bly represent as fit for a time to be forborne."
 To the fourth they answered, "That whatsoever
 "his excellency should find to be within their
 "power, and would direct to be done, concerning a

“ place of residence for his person, they would readily obey his lordship’s commands therein.” To the fifth they answered, “ That upon conference with his excellency of the places fit to be garrisoned, and the number of men fit to be put in them, they would, according to the articles of the peace, use their utmost endeavour to have such garrisons, so agreed upon, admitted.” And to the last they said, “ They had at all times been ready and willing that his excellency’s charge should be supported out of the revenue of the kingdom; and that they were now ready to concur in the signing any of the dues already accrued, or such as should grow due hereafter, or to impose any new allotment upon the subject, towards his maintenance.”

When the lord lieutenant perceived that the temper and the desire of the commissioners of trust was so different from that of the congregation, and that in truth they were afflicted and scandalized at the exorbitancies of the other, and that they thought they should be able to reduce them from the destructive counsels they were engaged in; he would not, upon any experience or judgment of his own, restrain them from attempting what was not impossible to compass, and which many concluded would have been compassed, if attempted; and which, what other effect soever it had, would make it manifest, that there was not a concurrence in the nation in those acts which were like to destroy the nation. And therefore he willingly consented that the commissioners should go to Galway, where a committee of the congregation resided; whereof the bishop of Ferns was one: to whom they shewed

the letter they received from the lord lieutenant, and desired them to consider the state of the kingdom; and to know from them, what they conceived remained, that might tend best to the preservation of the nation and themselves. They told them, that a union could not be had for the preservation of the nation, without keeping the king's authority amongst them, for that many of the most considerable would instantly make their conditions with the enemy, if the king's authority were taken away; and that there was no hope of keeping or leaving that authority with them, but by revoking the excommunication and declaration; for the lord lieutenant would not stay to keep it, nor would he leave it, nor the marquis of Clanrickard undergo it, but upon those terms: whereupon they used all those reasons and arguments, which cannot but occur to all men who are not blinded with passion and prejudice, to induce them to such a retraction as could only advance the happiness, or indeed the subsistence of the nation.

But the Roman catholic bishops were inexorable; instead of abating any of that fury they had formerly expressed, they added new contumelies and reproaches to all the authority of the king. They said, "they observed by the lord lieutenant's letter, that he informed his majesty of the disobedience and affronts which had been put upon his authority; and consequently, that he had suggested matter unto his majesty for the making that declaration against the people that they had perused, the declaration which had been published in Scotland, disavowing the peace; and that they were of opinion, for ought appeared to them, that the

Commissioners of trust ex-
postulate with the committee of the congregation of the prelates.

Their answer to the commissioners of trust.

“ king had thereby withdrawn his commission and
“ authority from the lord lieutenant. That in the
“ said declaration, the Irish nation (as bloody re-
“ bels) were cast from the protection of the king’s
“ laws and royal favour; and therefore it might be
“ presumed, that he would not have his authority
“ kept over such a nation, to govern them. That
“ they had been of opinion, and all their endeavours
“ had been employed to keep the king’s authority
“ over them; but when his majesty throws away
“ the nation as rebels from his protection, with-
“ drawing his own authority, they could not under-
“ stand the mystery of preserving the same with
“ them or over them, nor how it could be done.
“ That they believed the best remedy (the king’s
“ authority being taken away by that declaration)
“ of meeting the inconvenience of the people’s clos-
“ ing with the parliament, is the returning to the
“ confederacy, as, they said, was intended by the
“ nation in case of a breach of the peace on his ma-
“ jesty’s part. That they said would keep an union
“ among them, if men would not be precipitately
“ guilty of the breach of their oath of association;
“ which oath, by two solemn orders of two several
“ assemblies, was to continue binding, if any breach
“ of the articles of peace should happen on his ma-
“ jesty’s part: that the king’s authority and the
“ lord lieutenant’s commission being recalled by that
“ declaration, they were of opinion that the lord
“ lieutenant had no authority to leave; and if they
“ must expose their lives and fortunes to the hazard
“ of fighting, for making good that peace, seeing the
“ danger and the prejudice was alike to defend that,
“ or get a better peace, why should they bind them-

“selves within the limits of those articles so dis-
 “avowed?” And so with several tautologies urged
 the declaration in Scotland, as the ground and ex-
 cuse for all their proceedings, when what they had
 done was before the issuing of any such declaration.
 They concluded; that “they could not consent with
 “safety of conscience to the revoking their declara-
 “tion and excommunication, as demanded by the
 “lord lieutenant, nor to give assurance to him, or
 “the commissioners of trust, for not attempting the
 “like for the future.”

They would not make this declaration in a case
 of conscience of so vast an extent and importance,
 without setting down their reasons under their
 hands; which it would not be reasonable (for the
 doctrine's sake) to conceal from the world, that it
 may the better judge of those particular spiritual
 guides, (for I do heartily wish that the conclusions
 which were made, and the ruin that flowed from
 thence, may not at any time reflect to the prejudice
 of more than the particular persons who made them-
 selves guilty of that mass of mischief, and towards
 whom I shall not labour in an apology.)

1. Their first reason was, because the king's au-
 thority was not in the lord lieutenant; nor was
 there, they said, power in them to confer a new au-
 thority on him, which would be destructive to the
 nation if it continued in him, and was like to prove
 a preservative if in another; and that, they said,
 was their sense, when they declared against the
 authority in his person. So that though they had
 presumption to take the king's authority out of his
 lieutenant's hand, by their declaration and excom-
 munication, and to inhibit all men to submit to it,

they had now the modesty to confess that they had not power to confer any new authority on him; their faculty of destroying was so much better than that of preserving.

2. Their second was, that they feared they should lose the few churches remaining under his government, as they had lost under him all the churches of the cities of Waterford, Kilkenny, Wexford, and the rest; in which, they said, they agreed with the Maccabees, *Maximus et primus pro sanctitate timor erat templi*. By whose ill government those cities were lost, appears by what hath been said before; and how well the few that were then left were kept after they had forced the marquis to depart the kingdom, it is too well known unto the world.

3. The third reason they thought fit to offer was, because the lord lieutenant had declared at Cork, that he would maintain, during his life, the protestant religion, according to the example of the best reformed churches, which might be the same in substance with the covenant for ought they knew: they said they could not expect from him the defence of the catholic religion; which was a strange objection against a protestant lieutenant of a protestant king, under whose government they pretended to be desirous to live: and whatever had been declared by the lord lieutenant at Cork in that particular was before the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and published and printed, and well known to those bishops; who after the same, (and notwithstanding that declaration,) with all demonstrations of cheerfulness, gave their consent to that peace which they now think fit to break because of that declaration.

4. The fourth reason was cast in the same mould, the scandal over the world, to make choice of one of a different religion, especially in Rome, where his holiness expected that a catholic governor should be placed over them; and they said they did fear the scourges of war and plague, that had fallen so heavy upon them, were some evidences of God's anger, for putting God's cause and the church's under such hands; whereas that trust might have been managed in a catholic's hand under the king's authority: which reason had indeed most ingenuity in it: and whenever they disguised their malice and their prejudice in those personal reproaches and calumnies which they know to be most untrue, if they had frankly declared and excepted against him for being a protestant, they had more complied with the dictates and integrity of their hearts: and yet it might appear a very unskilful and imprudent suggestion, to make the humour of the court of Rome their rule of obedience to their sovereign, and to discourse of choosing a person of what religion they thought fit to be his vicegerent; as if they, not he, were to be consulted in it; which would administer much cause of jealousy to a protestant king and to his protestant subjects, if it were not as much known to them, that the whole catholic nobility and gentry of the nation were enemies to those resolutions, as that that unhappy part of the catholic bishops and clergy did broach and propagate that new and destructive doctrine, which alone hath reduced the nation to the calamities it now undergoes.

5. The fifth reason was, that they should find no succour or countenance, but reproach and disgrace, from any catholic prince of the church, or laity,

whilst the marquis governed ; when, in truth, since that time, and that their proceedings have been taken notice of, all catholic princes have looked upon them as incapable of any succour or countenance, and have accordingly left them to the rage and rapine of their bloody and merciless persecutors.

Their other reasons were their vulgar, and so oft before recited exceptions to his person, in respect of the ill success of his conduct, and the prejudice the people had to him in regard of the same ; and they said the two considerable corporations remaining (which were Limerick and Galway) were at so great a distance with the lord lieutenant, that they were thought to be resolved not to submit to him, though they resolved to appear (as in their intentions and actions they conceived they were) faithful to the crown, and obedient to the king's authority, if placed in another person.

To which suggestions nothing need be added to what hath been said in this discourse of the demeanour of those particular places ; nor can the observation be avoided, that it was the natural practice of this congregation to use all their industry and artifice to infuse jealousy and sedition into the people, and distrust and obstinacy into the corporations, and then to urge that jealousy, prejudice, and indisposition of the people and corporations to countenance any thing that they thought fit to do or to oppose. They concluded, that the event of war being uncertain, if the nation should be reduced to the condition of agreeing with the enemy, the lord lieutenant would not be a fit man to agree for the exercise of their religion, for their churches, altars, or any thing concerning the same : and therefore

they said, that the best way that occurred to them, in this pressing exigency, for the union of the nation, and keeping them from agreeing with the enemy, was, that the marquis of Clanrickard (in whom, according to the sense of the congregation at Jamestown, they desired the king's authority might be left) might govern the nation with the consent of all parties, and the king's authority be taken from the lord lieutenant, until an assembly; and to that end, that a free and lawful assembly might be made to sit and judge upon the people's preservation, and to decree and order what should be best and safest for the defence of the nation, and touching the king's authority to be kept over them, and the peace to be asserted and made good, or to renew the association, or any thing else they should find best and most expedient: and to that they would willingly submit; for, they said, they never intended to hinder an assembly, or to give laws to the people; all that they endeavoured was, to defend the altars and souls intrusted to them; and as they were of opinion that the soldiers would follow the marquis of Clanrickard, and the people obey him, so they would contribute their best endeavours to that effect. They further gave assurance, that if a free and lawful assembly, upon due consideration of their own state and condition, should find it the best way, for their own safety and preservation, to make an agreement with the enemy, as they intended never, by the grace of God, to grant away from them by an affirmative consent the churches and altars, (if forced from them they were blameless,) so would they not hinder the people from compounding with the enemy for the safety of their lives and estates, when no way

of defence was appearing, though upon such an agreement they saw that they alone should probably be the losers of lives, estates, churches, altars, immunities, and liberties: but in such contracts with the enemy, if any should happen, (which they wished God would avert,) they should pray and conjure the catholics of Ireland, that that of the Maccabees might be recorded of them to future ages: *Erat pro uxoribus, et filiis, pro fratribus et cognatis minor sollicitudo, maximus vero, et primus, pro sanctitate erat timor templi.*

And this was the answer delivered to the commissioners of trust upon the fifth of November 1650, at Galway, by the titular bishops of Killalah, Fernes, Kilmedough, Clonfert, Kilfinorah, and Dromore, after several and long conferences with the said commissioners of trust, who were intrusted by the nation upon the proposals made by the lord lieutenant, and the before recited; the commissioners at that conference being likewise six, sir Lucas Dillon, sir Richard Barnwall, sir Richard Everard, Mr. Richard Beling, Mr. Jeffery Brown, and Dr. Fennell; all eminent persons in their fortunes and interests, and in the trust and confidence of the confederate catholics. I take much, very much more pleasure in remembering, (which makes me say it upon all opportunities, to prevent the usual prejudice that is too frequently let loose upon whole nations, communities, and professions, for the guilt and errors of particular persons, officers, and professors,) that not only the whole nobility and gentry of fortune and interest, some very few excepted, but many learned and pious men of the secular and regular clergy, and even some of their bishops, did abhor and abo-

minate the proceedings of this congregation, and the doctrine they infused into the people; and that the same was disavowed by some of those bishops who were last mentioned, as being obtruded on them by the major vote, or done by their procurators, without their assent or knowledge: I say, I take more pleasure in remembering this, than inserting such incredible actions, arguments, and discourses (or making sharp reflections on the same) of that unhappy, unprelatical, uncatholic congregation; which can never be looked upon by wise men of any profession as consisting of grave, temperate, or loyal persons, but as factious, rash, violent, and disloyal men, assembled without authority, transported with spleen, arrogance, and ambition; taking advantage of the ill successes whereof themselves were guilty, as the marquis said in his letter of the second of December, which he sent to the assembly at Loughreagh when he left the kingdom; of which letter, if an exact copy could have been gotten, this discourse would have been needless, there being so ample a vindication of whatsoever was or could be said against him in the other. Nor can any man avoid the observing, by the express words of the conclusion, upon their reasons in their conference with the commissioners, that though they seemed to desire that the marquis of Clanrickard (whose zeal to the catholic religion and interest in the nation was so notorious and confessed, that they durst not repine publicly at his known affection and integrity to the king) might govern the nation with the consent of all parties, and that the king's authority from the lord lieutenant might be left in him; yet they declared they meant it should only be until an as-

sembly, (which they well knew, by the express terms of the articles of the peace, could be only lawfully convened by the lord lieutenant;) and then that the assembly should judge of the people's preservation, and to decree and order what should be best and safest for the defence of the nation, touching the king's authority to be kept over them, the peace to be asserted and made good, or to renew the association, or any thing else they should find best and most expedient: so that they intended no other honour to the marquis of Clanrickard, than that by his countenance and reputation they might persuade the lord lieutenant to leave the king's authority behind him, and then that he should call an assembly, (which they would otherwise do themselves, and which they were sure should be constituted, for the most part, of such men as would follow their dictates,) by which himself should be divested of that power, and the king deposed from any further dominion over them, when they could persuade any foreign prince to take them into his protection; which practice they quickly set on foot afterwards: and for the further manifestation of their affection and loyalty to the king, which they cannot endure should yet be called in question, it is observable, that these men, who had so often contradicted and controlled the express acts of every assembly that had been convened since the beginning of the troubles, and now commanded the people, under pain of damnation, not to yield any obedience to the king's authority in his lieutenant, and declared, that they could not, with the safety of their consciences, consent to the propositions which he had lately made for the uniting of the nation, in defence of the peace,

so advantageous to their liberty and religion, and which the commissioners, trusted by and for the nation, thought so reasonable ;—these men, I say, made no scruple of professing and declaring, that if an assembly, upon due consideration of their own state and condition, should find it the best way, for their safety and preservation, to make an agreement with the enemy, (the rebels of England, who had murdered their late sovereign with these inhuman circumstances, and who professed the extirpation of their religion and nation, and had massacred and reproachfully executed so many of their bishops and clergy in cold blood,) they could not hinder the people from compounding with them, for the safety of their lives and estates: which being seriously considered, we cannot enough wonder at the strange stupid resignation of their understandings who believed, or rather at their wonderful contempt of those understandings in those who would be persuaded to believe, that this congregation had loyal purposes toward the king, or that they never intended to hinder assemblies, or to give law to the people, when they cancelled all the fundamental laws, broke through all the acts of their own assembly, and forbad the people to pay any obedience to the king's lieutenant, who had only the lawful power to govern them. The more extravagant and unreasonable these proceedings were of the congregation and clergy, the more confident many honest and wise men were, that an assembly of the nation would regulate and control that unlimited power, and utterly disavow all that they had done; and therefore they, who were exceedingly offended and enraged against the congregation, were as solicitous

and importunate with the lord lieutenant to call an assembly : and though he had had too much experience of the nature and temper of that people, and of the transcendent power the clergy would still have over any assembly, (or at least over the people, when the assembly had done what it could,) to hope for any good effects from it ; and though he saw that he should thereby the more expose his own honour and (which he considered much more) the dignity of his master to new insolences ; yet, since he resolved to leave the kingdom himself, and was only unresolved whether he should leave the king's authority behind him liable to the same indignities and affronts, in the person of the marquis of Clanrickard, which it had been subjected to in his own, and could have no kind of assurance that it should not, but by the professions and protestations of an assembly, he did resolve to call one, and issued out his letters to that purpose for their meeting upon the 15th of November at Loghreagh ; where they met accordingly ; and the bishops, for removing, as they said, of any jealousies that any might apprehend of their proceedings, declared and protested, " that by their excommunication and declaration at Jamestown in August last, they had no other aim than the preservation of the catholic religion and the people ; and that they did not purpose to make any usurpation on his majesty's authority, nor on the liberty of the people ; confessing that it did not belong to their jurisdiction so to do : " with which protestation (so contrary to what they had done, and which in truth they had so often made, even at the time they did all things contrary to it) the assembly was satisfied ; and did not so much as

Lord lieutenant calls an assembly at Loghreagh.

Protestation of the bishops.

The assembly satisfied therewith.

make another protestation, that the bishops had done that which they ought not to do, nor exacted a promise from them, that they would not do the like in time to come. So that the lord lieutenant was resolved to look no more for satisfaction from them, nor expose the king's authority further by leaving any deputy behind him; but prepared the best he could to depart the kingdom, a small frigate then attending for that service.

Which makes the lord lieutenant resolve to leave the kingdom without a deputy.

When the assembly understood this his resolution, and saw plainly that he was even ready to depart, his goods and many of his servants being on board; they sent four of the members of their house to him, with an instrument in writing; in which they repeated the declaration and protestation made by the bishops mentioned before; upon consideration of which, and their professions to that purpose in the assembly, and of his excellency's letter dated the 16th of November last, "recommending to them, "as the chief end for which the assembly was called, "the removing of all divisions as the best way to "their preservation," they said, that the lords spiritual and temporal, and the gentry met in that assembly, conceived, "that there was not a better "foundation or ground for their union, than their "holding to and obeying his majesty's authority, to "which they owed, and ought to pay all dutiful "obedience: and they did thereby declare and protest, that their allegiance unto his majesty's authority was such, and so inherent in them; that "they could not be withdrawn from the same; nor "was there any power in the lords spiritual or temporal, gentry or people, clergy or laity of the kingdom, that could alter, change, or take away his

Letter from the assembly to the lord lieutenant on that resolution.

" majesty's authority ; they holding that to be the
 " chief flower of the crown, and the support of the
 " people's liberties, which they did thereby declare,
 " protest, and avow, and that they did esteem the
 " same, and the obedience thereunto, essentially, in-
 " violably, and justly due from them, and the chief-
 " est means under God to uphold their union and
 " preservation : and they said, they did unanimously
 " beseech his excellency, in his great affection to the
 " advancement of his majesty's service, and his hearty
 " desires of the nation's preservation, to which they
 " said he had relations of highest concernment in
 " blood, alliance, and interest, to leave that author-
 " ity with them, in some person faithful to his ma-
 " jesty, and acceptable to the nation ; to which per-
 " son, when he should be made known unto them,
 " they said they would not only afford all due obe-
 " dience, but would also offer and propose the best
 " ways and means that God would please to direct
 " them to, for the preservation of his majesty's rights,
 " and the people's interests and liberty, and for the
 " begetting a ready obedience in all places and per-
 " sons unto his majesty's authority."

This advice, though it carried with it a particular
 respect from the assembly to the lord lieutenant, and
 an acknowledgment of the faithful and hearty af-
 fection he had always had to advance his majesty's
 interest and service in that kingdom, contrary to
 the scandalous declaration of the congregation, gave
 not the marquis the least confidence that his ma-
 jesty's authority could find more respect in the per-
 son of another, than it had met with in him ; there-
 fore he wrote to them by the same messengers, " that
 " he had sent authority to the lord marquis of Clan-

Lord lieu-
 tenant's
 answer.

“rickard to govern that his majesty’s kingdom and
 “people; provided, that their declaration might be
 “so far explained as to give the marquis of Clan-
 “rickard full satisfaction, that the expressions they
 “made, touching the obedience they owed and re-
 “solved to pay unto his majesty’s authority, was
 “meant the authority placed in his lordship, or any
 “other governor deriving or holding his authority
 “from his majesty; and that they esteemed it not
 “in the power of any person, congregation, or as-
 “sembly whatsoever, to discharge or set the people
 “free from obeying his lordship, or any other such
 “governor, during the continuance of the said au-
 “thority in him; without which, he said, he could
 “not, in duty to his majesty, leave his authority,
 “subject to be tossed to and fro at the uncertain
 “fancy of any man or men, and that without any
 “probability of saving the nation, which could no
 “otherwise be effected, than by the absolute cheer-
 “ful obedience of the people unto the authority
 “placed over them.” And so having directed the

marquis of Clanrickard (who submitted to the charge
 He deposes the marquis of Clanrickard.
 out of pure obedience, and only that he might not

decline a service which they would say would have
 preserved the nation) not to assume the charge, un-
 less the assembly gave him full satisfaction in the
 particulars required by him, the lord lieutenant,
 Leaves Ire-land.
 about the middle of December, which was the end
 of the year 1650, by the new account, embarked
 himself in a small vessel for France, after he had
 refused to receive a pass from Ireton, who offered
 it; choosing rather to trust the seas and the winds,
 in that rough and boisterous season of the year, than
 to receive an obligation from the rebels: and so after

And lands
in France.

having been tossed at sea for the space of some weeks, and his other ships, in which were his servants, and goods, and many other persons, were perishing in the storm, himself landed in France.

If the end of this discourse were only to vindicate the marquis of Ormond from those loose reproaches and groundless calumnies, with which those bold writers have endeavoured to asperse him, it might be very well concluded here, after it hath so clearly instanced the insupportable wants, weakness, and distractions he was to struggle with, even from the first minute of the conclusion of the peace, and when he seemed to be attended with the most success, and so fully evidenced the vast supplies, wealth, power, and (which makes the rest superior to the greatest and most difficult designs) the union of the most prosperous rebels; and on the other side, the weakness, poverty, and unskilfulness of the Irish; their want of money, of arms, of victuals, of officers, and of discipline, and, which would have made any plenty unsuccessful, the abundant want of union, discretion, and obedience to the superior commander; the rebellion of the incorporate towns against all the commands and orders of the king's lieutenant; and lastly, the extravagant and unlimited power of the most illiterate and worst affected part of the clergy over the consciences and understandings of the people;—I say, all these particulars being so undeniably evinced, the world (at least the soberer part of it) will be very easily satisfied, that the marquis of Ormond discharged the office of a wise, vigilant, and excellent commander, with the greatest constancy, courage, and integrity imaginable; and that none of the calamities, under which that unhappy nation

lies at present oppressed and broken, can be put upon his account. But since there was, and is still, so much profession of duty and obedience to the king's authority, and all the miscarriages and misfortunes imputed to the prejudice that attended the person of the marquis of Ormond, and that the prejudice to his person proceeded from his religion, from his being no Roman catholic; it will not be an impertinent or unprofitable expense of time, to take a view of the ways which were taken to preserve the nation, to advance the king's service, and the obedience that was paid to his majesty's authority, after it was placed in the marquis of Clanrickard; whose zeal and devotion to the Roman catholic religion hath been always as eminent and unquestioned as his loyalty and integrity to the king, and whose being a catholic hath not been able to shelter him from the virulence of those tongues, which have endeavoured to wound and deprave the other great and excellent person; the very same tongues and pens having with equal licence and malice, and with many of the same calumnies, aspersed the one and the other; so that, in truth, religion will be found to have the least influence upon the hearts of those who have so often mentioned it, as their only motive to those unlawful actions, which are not consistent with any religion.

The lord lieutenant was no sooner under sail, Marquis of Clanrickard entreated to accept the government. than the assembly applied themselves to the marquis of Clanrickard, who was then at his house at Loughreagh, and besought him to assume the government; as lord deputy of Ireland, according to the power left with him by the lord lieutenant. But the marquis absolutely refused to do it, except they

satisfied the proviso that was in the lord lieutenant's letter to them, and that he saw such an union among them, as might free the king's authority from the affronts it had been exposed unto: hereupon the assembly unanimously professed all obedience to his majesty's authority, as it was vested in him, and petitioned him to assume it, without which, they said, the nation would be exposed to utter ruin; and the bishop of Fernes more particularly importuned him, in the name of the clergy, "not to decline the charge, which could only preserve the king's power in that kingdom, and the nation from destruction; and promised so entire a submission and cooperation from the whole clergy, that his authority should not be disputed."

Condition
of the Irish
at that
time.

There were then in the possession of the Roman catholics the entire province of Connaught, in which they had the strong castle of Athlone, the strong and important town and harbour of Galway, and many other lesser forts and places of strength; a good part of the province of Munster, and in it the city of Limerick, which, by the strong situation of it, and the advantages it might have from the sea, could alone (with the help and assistance of Galway) have maintained a war against all the rebels' forces in Ireland: they had many parties of horse and foot in Leinster, Munster, and Ulster; which being drawn together would constitute a better army than the rebels were in truth masters of: so that the marquis had argument enough of hope, if he could be confident of the union of the nation; and he might reasonably promise himself an union of the nation, if he could be confident of the affections and integrity of the clergy; and they did now

promise with that solemnity, that if he would not be confident of them, he saw the fault would be imputed to him, for they could do no more on their parts to create a belief in him: he was therefore content to take the charge upon him, and obliged them presently to consider of a way to keep all the forces, when he should have drawn them together, and to secure the two towns of Limerick and Galway with strong garrisons; which was the first work concluded on all hands necessary to be performed.

Very few days had passed after the lord deputy had, upon such their importunity and professions, taken the government upon him, when it was proposed in the assembly (before their condition was impaired by any further progress or new success of the rebels) that they might send to the rebels, to "treat with them, upon surrendering all that was left in their hands;" and when the same was opposed with indignation by the major part of the assembly, the bishop of Fernes himself, who had so newly importuned the lord deputy to assume the charge, and made such ample promises in the name of the clergy, seemed to concur with those who were against treating with the enemy; but instead of it very earnestly pressed, that "they might, in order to their better defence, return to their ancient confederacy, and so proceed in their preparations without any respect to the king's authority:" and this motion found such a concurrence in the assembly from most of the bishops and clergy, and many others, that the officers of the army, and the principal of the nobility and gentry, found it necessary to express more than ordi-

Their behaviour to the lord deputy.

nary passion in their contradiction; they told them, "they now manifested that it was not their prejudice to the marquis of Ormond, nor their zeal to religion, that had transported them, but their dislike of the king's authority, and their resolution to withdraw themselves from it; that for themselves they would constantly submit to it, and defend it with their utmost hazard, as long as they should be able; and when they should be reduced to that extremity, that the treating with the rebels could be no longer deferred, they would in that treaty make no provision for them; but be contented that they should be excluded from any benefit thereof, who were so forward to exclude the king's authority." Upon these bold and necessary menaces, (to which they had not been accustomed,) the clergy and their party seemed to acquiesce, and promised all concurrence; but from this very time, all the factions and jealousies which had been before amongst them were improved.

Several Irish desert to the rebels.

The Irish, in all quarters of which the rebels were possessed, not only submitted and compounded, but very many of them entered into their service, and marched with them in their armies; and the lord deputy grew as much into their disfavour as the lord lieutenant had been, and his being a friend to the marquis of Ormond destroyed all that confidence which his being a Roman catholic had merited from them.

Lord deputy appoints a rendezvous.

Notwithstanding all these discouragements, some whereof he expected not, the deputy issued out his orders to all the forces, which, for conveniency of quarter, and the more to infest the rebels, were scattered over the provinces, that they should meet

at a general rendezvous at the time and place appointed; resolving, with as much expedition as he could, to engage the enemy, which in truth (with putting in so many soldiers into those towns and places of strength which had been delivered to them, and with sickness) was much weakened; and he did once draw together a greater body of horse and foot at a rendezvous, than all the forces that the rebels could bring would consist of: and hearing that Ireton (who then commanded in chief for the rebels in the kingdom) marched towards Athlone, he made all possible haste to encounter him; but after he had gone two days march towards that place, he received certain intelligence that the rebels (being furnished with all necessary guides, and having much better information of all he did from the Irish, than the deputy could procure) were marched over the mountains towards Galway. Upon which advertisement, he made what haste he could back the same way he came; and sent orders to the earl of Castlehaven, the general of the horse, to meet him with the forces under his command, at a village called —, where the deputy expected him, the rebels being then within less than a mile with their main body, and only a narrow pass between them, which the deputy made little doubt of defending, until all his forces should come up, and then resolved to fight them; which was the only thing he desired, and believed himself to be in a very good posture to do. When the earl of Castlehaven received his orders to march, he took special care to leave the single pass (by which the rebels might possibly get over the river of Shannon) well guarded, that so they might be entirely engaged at the place where the deputy

Resolves to
fight Ire-
ton.

was without any danger in their rear; he did not think the guarding of the place to be of any difficulty, where there was an old strong castle, that stood even into the river, and in the mouth of the pass, and against which the rebels could not plant any ordnance to annoy it; and in this castle he left threescore musketeers, and withal two troops of horse, which was strength enough to have kept the strongest and best furnished army from landing on that side.

Shameful
cowardice
of the Irish
troops.

The earl had not marched above three hours, when, upon the rising of a hill, he heard the report of a few muskets, and looking behind him, he saw the two troops of horse, which he had left to guard the pass, running and dispersing with all imaginable confusion, and without being pursued by any man: the rebels having, it seems, excellent and speedy intelligence of the earl's march, sent over two or three boats with musketeers from the other side of the river, who, without the least opposition, or having one man hurt, landed at the castle, which the horse and foot abandoned and left to their possession; so that it was then in their power to draw over as many as they would of their army. As soon as this news was heard amongst those who marched with the earl, without any respect to his person, command, or entreaties, or without the least sight of an enemy, or indeed the possibility of being pursued, (for there were yet only a few foot landed on that side the river, and the bringing over their horse would take up much time,) they fled, dispersed and disbanded, insomuch that of four thousand, which in the morning the body consisted of, the earl brought not with him to the place where the lord deputy

was above forty horse; so that the deputy easily saw he was in no case to engage with the rebels; that he should be quickly attacked in the rear by that part of the army which had already, and speedily would pass the river; and that the same fright possessed his men who had hitherto kept the bridge, and who now began to yield ground; and that in truth very many of his soldiers had that night run away, and thereupon he drew off, and marched away; both horse and foot, when they were got out of danger of the enemy's pursuit, dispersing themselves: and from this time the deputy could never draw any considerable and firm body into the field, nor make any opposition to the progress the rebels made; the Irish in all places submitting to and compounding with them, and murmuring as much against the lord deputy, as they had before against the lord lieutenant.

Before the lord lieutenant left the kingdom, he had sent the lord viscount Taaffe (who had been an eyewitness of all his proceedings, and had in vain laboured to compose and dispose the minds of the clergy to the king's service) to give the king an account of the affairs of Ireland, and how impossible it would be to preserve his authority in that kingdom, without some more than ordinary supplies from abroad. His lordship landed in Flanders, the king being then in Scotland, and quickly understood how unlike his journey into that kingdom was to advance the business upon which he came, or indeed that he should be admitted to the presence of the king, from whom most were removed who had attended him thither; and thereupon he stayed in Flanders, and found an opportunity to represent the

Lord
Taaffe's
negociation
with the
duke of
Lorrain.

Who sends
an ambas-
sador to
Ireland.

condition of the catholics of Ireland in such a manner to the duke of Lorrain, (who, being nearly allied to the king, had always professed a singular affection to his majesty and his interest,) that in the end he prevailed with him to send them some relief: and as soon as it was known that the lord lieutenant was landed in France, the duke sent a person of principal trust about him (the abbot of St. Katherin's) into Ireland, with a credential, as his ambassador to the clergy and the catholic nobility and gentry of that kingdom, to treat with them, in order to their receiving aid and supplies from the duke, and to the end that his highness might in truth understand in what capacity they were of being relieved, and how much they could themselves contribute thereunto; it not being then known that the marquis of Ormond had left the king's authority behind him; but rather conceived, that, upon those many provocations and affronts which had been offered to him, he had withdrawn, with his person, that countenance and authority they had so much undervalued, and so little deserved.

Ambassador
from Lor-
rain ap-
plied to the
lord deputy.

When the abbot landed in Ireland, (which was about the end of February, and within little more than two months after the lord lieutenant departed from thence,) he heard that the marquis of Clarrickard was the king's deputy; and thereupon "he gave him presently notice of his arrival, addressed himself to him, shewed his commission and credentials, and assured him, that the duke his master had so entire an affection to the king of England, (the preservation of whose interest in that kingdom was the chief motive to him to offer his assistance,) that if he had known any person had

“ been intrusted there with his majesty’s authority,
 “ he would have addressed himself to him, and to
 “ no other. And that he finding his lordship in-
 “ vested with that power, did, what he knew his
 “ master expected at his hands, apply himself unto
 “ him, with and by whose directions he would alone
 “ steer himself through that negociation.” He told
 him, “ the duke had already disbursed six thousand
 “ pistoles for the supplying them with those things
 “ he heard they stood most in need of, which were
 “ brought over by a religious person who came with
 “ him; and that he was ready to be informed of
 “ what they would desire from his highness, that
 “ might enable them to resist the enemy; and that
 “ he would consent to any thing that was reason-
 “ able for him to undertake.”

Hereupon the lord deputy appointed a committee of the commissioners of trust, together with some of the prelates, to confer with the ambassador, to receive any overtures from him, and to present them to him with their advice thereupon. They met accordingly, and received the propositions from the ambassador; such as were so unagreeable to the professions he had made of respect to the king, and indeed so inconsistent with the king’s honour and interest, that there was great reason to suspect that they proceeded rather from the encouragement and contrivance of the Irish, than from his own temper and disposition: and this was the more believed, when; instead of returning the propositions to the lord deputy, they kept the same in their own hands, put out some of those who were appointed by him to be of the committee, and chose others in their places, and proceeded in the treaty, without giving

Lord deputy
 appoints
 commis-
 sioners to
 confer with
 him.

Their un-
 fair nego-
 ciation.

the deputy any account of what was demanded by the ambassador, or what they thought fit to offer to him : of all which the deputy took notice, and thereupon forbade them to proceed any further in that way, and restrained them to certain articles, which he sent to them ; which contained what he thought fit to offer to the ambassador, and gave them power only to treat upon the same : notwithstanding this positive direction, they proceeded in their treaty with the ambassador, and sent an advice to the deputy to consent to the articles proposed by him ; since, they said, he would not recede from what he had proposed, and that it was much better to submit to the same, than that the treaty should be broken off.

The deputy as positively declared, that what was demanded was so derogatory to the honour of the king his master, and destructive to his interest, that he would never agree to it, and resolved presently to leave the town : and when the ambassador sent to him, to desire to see him, and to take his leave of him, he absolutely refused, and sent him word,

“ that he would neither pay his civility to, nor receive it from, a person who had so much swerved from the professions made by himself, and who had presumed to make propositions so dishonourable to the king his master, and, he believed, so contrary to the good pleasure of the duke of Lorraine ; and that he would send away an express to the duke, to inform him of his miscarriage ; and, he presumed, he would do justice unto the king upon him.”

Message from the lord deputy to the ambassador.

The ambassador recedes from his demands.

When the prelates saw that no obstinacy in the ambassador, nor importunity from them, could pre-

vail with the lord deputy, they, to shew what influence they had upon that treaty, persuaded the ambassador to consent to the same propositions which he had formerly (no doubt by the same advice) rejected; and thereupon to make the sum, formerly disbursed by the duke at his coming out of Flanders, full twenty thousand pounds: and the lord deputy sent a couple of gentlemen into Flanders, to treat further with the duke of Lorrain, according to such commission and instructions as he gave them, who arrived in those parts about the month of July following. The bishop of Fernes about the same time left Ireland, and came likewise to Bruxelles; and having (without the privity of the lord deputy) obtained some secret trust and delegation from the prelates of Ireland, and credit from them to the duke of Lorrain, he quickly interested himself in that treaty, and took upon him the greatest part in it, and that which he said was the sense of the nation: he reproached the persons employed and trusted by the lord deputy with all the proceedings which had been in Ireland by the consent of the confederate catholics; inveighed against their opposing the nuncio, and appealing against the excommunication issued out by him, he told them, (and all this by a letter under his hand,) "that he was clearly of opinion, that the excommunication was valid, and that the greatest statesmen, soldiers, citizens, and people first disobeying, and now obstinate, are and were delivered to Satan, and therefore forsaken of God, and unworthy of victory and his holy blessing; and thereupon he said he did, with all sincerity and charity, offer his own humble opinion, what was to be done by

Lord deputy sends two gentlemen to treat further with the duke of Lorrain; viz. sir Nicholas Plunket, and Jeffery Brown, esq. Carriage of the bishop of Fernes.

“ them, which was to the end the agreement they
“ were making with his highness the duke of Lor-
“ rain might become profitable to the nation and ac-
“ ceptable in the eyes of God : that they would im-
“ mediately, with humbled hearts, make a submis-
“ sion to his holiness in the name of the nation, and
“ beg the apostolical benediction, that the light of
“ wisdom, the spirit of fortitude, virtue, grace, suc-
“ cess, and the blessing of God, might return again
“ to them. He told them the necessity of doing this
“ was the greater, for that the person from whom
“ they came with authority (the marquis of Clan-
“ rickard, the lord deputy) was for several causes
“ excommunicated *a jure et homine*, and that he
“ was at Rome reputed a great contemner of the
“ authority and dignity of churchmen, and a perse-
“ cutor of the lord nuncio, and some bishops and
“ other churchmen ;” and after many rude and bit-
ter reproaches against the deputy, he used these
words ; “ Do you think God will prosper a contract
“ grounded upon the authority of such a man ?” and
shortly after said, “ that if the duke of Lorraine were
“ rightly informed of the business, he would never
“ enter upon a bargain to preserve, or rather restore,
“ holy religion in the kingdom, with agents bring-
“ ing their authority from a cursed withered hand ;”
and then concluded with these words ; “ As for my
“ part, upon your denial to hear my humble prayers,
“ which I hope will not happen, I will withdraw
“ myself, as a man despairing of any fruit to come
“ from an unsound trunk, where there is no sap of
“ grace, and am resolved to communicate no more
“ with you in that affair ; but rather, to let the
“ prince know he is building his resolution of doing

“ good upon an unhallowed foundation ; and that
 “ God therefore (unless himself would undertake to
 “ obtain an absolution for the nation) will not give
 “ him the grace to lay down the *lapis angularis* of
 “ his own house again in that kingdom.” This letter bore date at Bruxelles, on the 20th of July, 1651 ; the persons to whom it was directed being then in the same town. What the issue of the treaty was, and what regard there was had of the king’s honour and interest, I shall not mention in this place, the articles being made public to the world ; but shall only insert the letter which the lord deputy wrote to the duke of Lorrain, in answer to one he had received from his highness, and after he knew what transaction had been made with him. The letter was dated the 20th of October, 1651, in these words :

“ *May it please your highness,*

“ I had the honour, the 12th of this instant, to
 “ receive a letter from your highness, dated the 10th
 “ September ; wherein you are pleased to express
 “ your zeal for the advancement of the catholic religion in this kingdom, your great affection to the king my master, and your good opinion of this nation, and compassion of their sufferings, and your great readiness to afford them aid and assistance, even equal with your own nearest concerns ; and that your highness received such satisfaction from the queen and duke of York, as did much strengthen those resolutions, so as they might sooner have appeared, but for the stay made here by monsieur St. Katherine, and his large northern voyage, upon his return ; and referred

Letter from
the lord deputy to the
duke of
Lorrain.

“ what concerned the agreement to the relation of
“ those commissioners I had employed to your high-
“ ness, to treat upon that subject of assistance and
“ relief for this kingdom. I do, with much alacrity,
“ congratulate and applaud your highness’s pious in-
“ tentions for the preservation of the catholic reli-
“ gion; your great and princely care to recover his
“ majesty’s rights and interests from the rebel sub-
“ jects of England; and the high obligation you put
“ upon this nation by your tender regard of them,
“ and desire to redeem them from the great miseries
“ and afflictions they have endured, and the eminent
“ dangers they are in; and it shall be a principal
“ part of my ambition, to be an useful instrument
“ to serve your highness in so famous and glorious
“ an enterprise, and that I may be the more capable
“ to contribute somewhat to so religious and just
“ ends.

“ First, in discharge of my conscience towards
“ God, my duty to the king my master, and to dis-
“ abuse your highness, and give you a perfect and
“ clear information, so far as comes to my know-
“ ledge, I am obliged to represent to your highness,
“ that, by the title of that agreement, and the ar-
“ ticles therein contained, made by those commis-
“ sioners I employed to your highness, and but lately
“ come into my hands; they have violated the trust
“ reposed in them, by having cast off and declined
“ the commission and instructions they had from me
“ in the king my master’s behalf, and all other
“ powers that could by any other means be derived
“ from him; and pretend to make an agreement
“ with your highness, in the name of the kingdom
“ and people of Ireland, for which they had not, nor

" could have, any warrantable authority ; and have
 " abused your highness by the counterfeit show of a
 " private instrument, fraudulently procured, and sign-
 " ed (as I am informed) by some inconsiderable and
 " factious persons, ill affected to his majesty's author-
 " ity, without any consent or knowledge of the gene-
 " rality of the nation, or the persons of greatest qua-
 " lity and interest therein ; and who, under a seem-
 " ing zeal, and pretence of service and affection to
 " your highness, labour more to satisfy their private
 " ambitions, than the advantage of religion or the
 " nation, or the prosperous success of your highness's
 " generous undertaking.

" And to manifest the clearness of my own pro-
 " ceedings, and to make such deceitful practices the
 " more apparent, I send your highness herewith an
 " authentic copy of my instructions, which accom-
 " panied their commission when I employed them to
 " your highness, as sufficient evidence to convince
 " them ; and having thus fully manifested their
 " breach of public trust, I am obliged, in the king
 " my master's name, to protest against their unwar-
 " rantable proceedings, and to declare all agreements
 " and acts whatsoever, concluded by those commis-
 " sioners, to be void and illegal, not being derived
 " from, or consonant to, his majesty's authority. Be-
 " ing in duty obliged thus far to vindicate the king
 " my master's honour and authority, and to preserve
 " his just and undoubted rights from such deceitful
 " and rebellious practices ; as likewise with an hum-
 " ble and respectful care to prevent those prejudices
 " that might befall your highness, in being deluded
 " by counterfeit shows of doing you greater honour,
 " when it is apparent that any undertaking laid upon

“ such false and ill grounded principles, as hath been
“ smoothly disguised and fixed upon the nation, as
“ their desire and request, must overthrow all those
“ heroic and princely acts your highness hath pro-
“ posed to yourself, for God’s glory and service, the
“ restoration of oppressed majesty, and the relief of
“ this distressed kingdom, which would at least im-
“ mediately fall into intestine broils and divisions, if
“ not forcibly driven into desperation ; I shall now,
“ with a hopeful and cheerful importunity, upon a
“ clear score, (free from those deceits,) propose unto
“ your highness, that, for the advancement of all
“ those great ends you aim at, (and in the king my
“ master’s behalf, and in the name of all the loyal ca-
“ tholic subjects of this nation, and for the preserva-
“ tion of those important cautionary places, that are
“ security for your highness’s past and present dis-
“ bursements,) you will be pleased to quicken and
“ hasten those aids and assistances you intended for
“ the relief of Ireland ; (and I shall, with my whole
“ power, and through the greatest hazards, not only
“ strive to defend them for you, and preserve all
“ other ports, that may at all times be of advantage,
“ and a safeguard to your fleets and men of war, hav-
“ ing yet many good harbours left ;) but also engage,
“ in the king my master’s name, whatsoever may
“ prove to your satisfaction, that is any way con-
“ sistent with his honour and authority ; and have
“ made my humble application to the queen’s ma-
“ jesty, and my lord lieutenant, (the king being at
“ that time in Scotland,) further to agree, confirm,
“ and secure, whatsoever may be of most advantage
“ to your highness : and if the last galiot had brought
“ us but ten thousand pounds, for this instant time,

“ it would have contributed more to the recovery of
 “ this kingdom, than far greater sums delayed, by
 “ enabling our forces to meet together for the relief
 “ of Limerick, which cannot but be in great distress,
 “ after so long a siege ; and which if lost, (though I
 “ shall endeavour to prevent it,) will cost much trea-
 “ sure to be regained : and if your highness shall be
 “ pleased to go on cheerfully, freely, and seasonably
 “ with this great work, I make no question but God
 “ will give so great a blessing thereunto, as that my-
 “ self, and all loyal subjects of this kingdom, may
 “ soon and justly proclaim, and leave recorded to
 “ posterity, *That your highness was the great and*
 “ *glorious restorer of our religion, monarch, and*
 “ *nation.*

“ And that your highness may not be discouraged
 “ or diverted from this generous enterprise, by the
 “ malice or invectives of any ill affected, it is a ne-
 “ cessary duty in me to represent unto your highness,
 “ that the bishop of Fernes, who, as I am informed,
 “ hath gained some interest in your favour, is a per-
 “ son that ever hath been violent against, and mali-
 “ cious to, his majesty’s authority and government,
 “ and a fatal instrument in contriving and fomenting
 “ all those divisions and differences that have rent
 “ asunder this kingdom ; the introduction to our pre-
 “ sent miseries, and weak condition : and that your
 “ highness may clearly know his disposition, I send
 “ herewith a copy of part of a letter written by him,
 “ directed to the lord Taaffe, sir Nicholas Plunkett,
 “ and Mr. Jeffery Brown, (which was part of that
 “ letter mentioned before,) and humbly submit it to
 “ your judgment, whether those expressions be agree-
 “ able to the spirit and temper of an apostolical spi-

“ rit, and (considering whose person and authority I
 “ represent) what ought to be the reward of such a
 “ crime: I must therefore desire your highness, in
 “ the king my master’s behalf, that he may not be
 “ countenanced or intrusted in any affairs that have
 “ relation to his majesty’s interests in this kingdom;
 “ where I shall constantly endeavour, by all possible
 “ service, to deserve your highness’s good opinion,
 “ and obtain that favour to be a most faithful ac-
 “ knowledger of it, in the capacity and under the
 “ title of

Athenree, 10th
Oct, 1651.

“ Your highness’s
 “ most humble and
 “ obliged servant,
 “ CLANRICKARD.”

It cannot be doubted, but that what this eminent catholic lord (who for loyalty and religion hath been and is despoiled of as great a fortune as subjects enjoy in any kingdom) hath said concerning that treaty, will find more credit with the world, than any thing that the bishop of Fernes, or any obscure loose friar, can publish in the bitterness of their spirit, who too much declare the irreverence they bear towards his majesty, by their want of duty, and rudeness to those who are intrusted to govern them, and the contempt they have of all laws, which are to restrain and contain them within the rules of obedience. One of the principal motives, which induced the marquis to submit to that great charge, and to undertake a province, which he knew would be very burdensome and grievous in several respects, was the joint promise that the city of Limerick and the town of Galway would pay all imaginable duty to him; the clergy

obliged themselves in that particular with all confidence, and the deputies of the places promised all that could be desired; but when the lord deputy found it necessary to settle that business, they would neither receive governor or garrison from him; and when he offered himself to stay in Limerick, (when Ireton was drawing before it,) and to run the same fortune with them, they refused it as peremptorily as they had done to the lord lieutenant. It is true, both Limerick and Galway were content to receive soldiers, but they were of their own choosing, not such, either in number or quality, as the lord deputy would have sent to them, or as were necessary for their security; they chose likewise their own governor, or rather kept the government themselves, and gave the title to one whom they thought least likely to contradict them; and, in a word, behaved themselves like two commonwealths, and obeyed the deputy no further than they were inclined to by their own conveniency; they who compounded with the rebels in the country, corresponded with their friends in the towns, and thereby gave the enemy intelligence of all that passed. Wonderful diligence was used to make it thought and believed that the independents were not uncharitable unto catholics, and that they wished not any compulsion should be used in matters of conscience; and when the acts of cruelty and blood, of putting their priests and prelates to ignominious deaths (of which there were new instances every day) were mentioned, it was answered, those proceedings were carried on by the power of the presbyterians, very much against the nature and principles of the other party.

Disobedience of Limerick and Galway to the lord deputy.

Irish correspond with the English rebels.

This licence of communication, and the evil conse-

The lord
deputy
unable to
prevent
this corre-
spondence.

Instanced
in friar
Anthony.

quences that must attend it, were enough understood by the lord deputy ; but could be no more prevented, reformed, or punished, than he could infuse a new heart and spirit into the people : one instance will serve the turn. There was in the town one friar Anthony Gaughagan, who had always adhered to the nuncio, and opposed the king's authority to the utmost of his power : several letters written and sent by him into the rebels' quarters were intercepted and brought to the deputy ; in which, though there were many things in cipher, there appeared much of the present state and condition of the town ; and in one of them, dated the 4th February, 1651, there were these words : " If the service of God had been as deep in the hearts of our nation as that idol of Dagon, a foolish loyalty, a better course for the honour and preservation had been taken in time." The deputy believed the crime to be so apparent, and of such a nature, that what accomplices soever he might have, none would have the courage to appear in his behalf ; and that he might give the clergy an opportunity to shew their zeal in a business that so much concerned their common safety, he referred the examination of the friar to the bishops, (whereof there were three or four then in the town,) and to some other of the principal clergy ; and appointed them to require him to produce the cipher which he had used, and to examine him to whom the letters were intended, they being directed to counterfeit and supposititious names. The cipher was produced accordingly ; and thereby many expressions in the letter appeared full of neglect and reproach of the king, and others of insolency and contumely towards the lord deputy ; they mentioned, " the little hope left of

“ relief from the duke of Lorrain, and that they resolved to send one to treat with the rebels, and had found a private means of conveying a person to that purpose.” The friar promised “ to use all his diligence to dispose the catholics to have a good opinion of the independents, and made some requests concerning himself.” All that he alleged for his defence was, that the letters written by him were to one who was employed by the court of Rome; that he had no ill meaning against the king or the deputy; and that he had himself a trust from Rome, and instructions from the secretary of the congregation *de propaganda fide*; and the bishops certified that they had seen the instructions, and that they did not relate at all to the temporal state: and this was all the satisfaction and all the justice the lord deputy could procure, though he wrote several letters of expostulation to the bishops thereupon. And whether this be a part of the privileges and immunities of the catholic Roman church, and enjoyed in any catholic country; and whether it can be indulged to them in any other country where the authority of the bishop of Rome is not submitted unto, we must leave to the world to judge and determine. And if protestant kings and princes are provident, and severe for the prevention of such practices, and for the establishing their own security, it must not be imputed to an unreasonable jealousy, or a prejudice to the Roman catholic religion; but to the unreasonableness and presumption of those men, who have pretended religion for their warrant or excuse for the most unlawful and most unjustifiable actions.

A good
caution.

This was the obedience and submission they paid

The consequences of the disobedience and disloyalty of the Irish clergy.

to the king's authority and government: let us now see what government they provided for themselves; and what course they, who were still jealous of being betrayed by those who were trusted by the king, took for their own security and preservation; and what power the bishops and clergy had to support their own interest and dignity, after they appeared to have enough to destroy or suppress that of the king.

The city of Limerick was entirely governed by the clergy: how it rejected the first peace in the year 1646; affronted the herald king at arms, when he came to proclaim it; wounded and turned out the mayor, and chose Dominic Fanning, the captain of that tumult and outrage, mayor in his place; and how it submitted to the good-will and pleasure of the nuncio thereupon, is before remembered. How it behaved itself towards the marquis of Ormond after the second peace, and after it had promised to receive a garrison; how father Wolfe, a friar, raised a mutiny, upon which they refused to receive it, or to admit the lord lieutenant into the town, when upon their own invitation he was come even into the gate, is likewise before set down. Contrary to their own obligation and solemn promise, they continued the same obstinacy to the marquis of Clanrickard; refused to receive such a governor and garrison as he thought fit to give them, or to receive himself into the town with the power and authority of deputy, after he had assumed that place and title upon their own importunity and promise of obedience. However, he sent such men to them, both officers and soldiers, as they desired, and no others: let us see the success.

As soon as Ireton came before it, and before they were pressed with any wants, they began to dis-^{Limerick besieged.}course of treating with the rebels. All the considerations of what they might undergo hereafter occurred to them, and the improbability of their receiving any succour proportionable to their wants; yet it was very hard for them to treat, it being notoriously known, that Ireton would except very many principal persons among them, to whom no mercy should be shewed; neither could they expect any conditions for the exercise of their religion, which they had hitherto been so jealous of. The governor had only the title, and the power to set the watch; but the mayor kept the keys, and had many of the principal officers at his devotion. Upon the twenty-third day of October, a mixed council of officers, and of those of the civil government, met in the town-house, to consult what was to be done in order to a treaty with the enemy; and after a long debate, it was concluded by the major part, "that ^{A party in it resolve to surrender.} they would proceed to a treaty, and that they would not break it off upon the exemption of any persons from quarter, or confiscation of their goods." The next day was appointed for the choosing commissioners to be sent to the rebels: and the result of yesterday's debate being known in the town, they no sooner met for the election of commissioners for the treaty, than the bishops of Limerick and Emly, with the clergy, came to the town-house, and "threatened to issue out an excommunication against them, if they proceeded in those counsels: the effect whereof would be to deliver up the prelates to be slaughtered." Notwithstanding which, they proceeded to the naming of the

Whereupon the bishops published their excommunication, with a perpetual interdict of the city, which was fixed on the doors of all the churches and chapels in the town: but, alas! those fulminations had been too loosely and impertinently used, to retain any virtue in time of need; as catholic as the town was, (and there was not one protestant in it,) the excommunication wrought no effect. But that very night, colonel Fennell, and other officers of the combination, who pressed on the treaty, possessed themselves of St. John's gate and Cluane towers, and drove the guards from thence; and when major general O'Neil (who had the title of governor of the town) came thither, and demanded "by what authority "they were there?" he having given them orders to guard another quarter of the town: they answered, "the best of the town knew and approved "of what they did." It was very true, the mayor was of the party, and had delivered the keys of that port to colonel Fennell, though he denied it to the other party that opposed the treaty. The governor called a council of war, and sent for Fennell to appear before them, who refused to come; and being supplied with powder from the mayor, he turned the cannon upon the town, and declared that he would not quit the place that he was possessed of, till the city should be yielded to the enemy. The commissioners were sent out to Ireton, who would give no other conditions, than that "the garrison should "lay down their arms, the officers retaining their "swords, and march to what place they would;" except only those who were exempt from mercy, (who, of soldiers and citizens, amounted to the

Colonel
Fennell
seizes St.
John's gate
and Cluane
towers.

Their
shameful
capitulation.

number of twenty-four.) "The inhabitants had three months time assigned to them to transport their persons, and three months more to remove their goods, without any place of the kingdom appointed, in which they might live." It cannot be believed that these unequal and severe conditions would have been accepted from an army not strong enough to have imposed them upon a people unwilling to have submitted to them, and in a season of the year that alone would have secured a place less provided for resistance, (for it was now the end of October, or the beginning of November,) but that colonel Fennell, the same night these hard demands were sent into the town, received into St. John's gate tower two hundred men from Ireton, and others were removed into another fort, called Prite's Mill; where, after they had continued about two days, and the people of the town not yet agreeing what they would do, a drum was sent through the city, commanding all manner of troopers and soldiers in pay within the town to repair to our Lady's church, and there to lay down their arms, which was presently obeyed; and the soldiers being bid forthwith to leave the town, Ireton marched in, received the keys, and was without any contradiction quietly possessed of all he desired, causing as many of the excepted persons as could be found to be committed to prison.

In this manner was the city of Limerick defended by the catholic Irish; and this obedience did the prelates and clergy, in their need, receive from those over whom they had power enough to seduce them from the duty they owed to the king, and from submitting to his authority; and now was the harvest

The rebels
exercise
their usual
cruelty.

Bishop of
Emely
hanged.

when they gathered the fruit of all their labours. The instances of severity and blood, which the rebels gave upon their being possessed of this place, were very remarkable: the bishop of Limerick had that dexterity and good fortune, that either by marching out among the common soldiers, or by concealing himself with some faithful friend in the town, (which is not so probable,) he escaped their hands, who manifested enough what his portion would have been by the treatment they gave to the bishop of Emely, whom they took, and without any formality of justice, and with all reproaches imaginable, caused to be publicly hanged. This unhappy prelate had, from the beginning, opposed with the greatest passion the king's authority, and most obstinately adhered to the nuncio, and to that party still, which was most averse from returning to their allegiance, and was thus miserably and ignominiously put to death by those who were equally enemies to the king, and in that city from whence he had been a principal instrument to shut out his majesty's authority. It may be remembered in the former part of this discourse, that when the king at arms proclaimed the first peace in Limerick, in the year 1646, one Dominic Fanning, a citizen of the town, raised a mutiny, and led on that rabble, which committed that violence upon the herald, and assaulted and wounded the mayor, and was himself made mayor in his place by the nuncio, and so kept that town in rebellion. The same man continued the same spirit against his majesty's authority, and always opposed the receiving of a garrison, when, after the last peace, the lord lieutenant so often and so earnestly pressed the same, as the only means to

preserve the city. This Dominic Fanning, being The fate of Dominic Fanning, the rioter. one of those twenty-four which Ireton had excepted, found a way among the common soldiers to get out of the town, notwithstanding all the diligence that they used to discover him : when he was free and in safety, he returned to the town to fetch some money that he had privately hid, and to make some provision for his subsistence, which he had not time to do before. But going in the night to his own house, his wife refused to receive him, or to assist him with any thing ; whereupon he departed : and after he had walked up and down the streets some time, the weather being extremely cold, he went to the main guard, where was a good fire, and being discovered to be a stranger, and asked who he was, voluntarily confessed, that he was Dominic Fanning, for whom such strict search had been made : he was apprehended, and the next morning carried before the governor, and immediately hanged.

There was another example no less memorable, in which two other notorious persons were concerned, who had borne unhappy parts in the same city, when the marquis of Ormond had so often, and in vain, pressed Limerick to receive a garrison, and the commissioners of trust had used all their persuasions and authority to the same purpose. The rebels' army being then so near, that it was believed they intended to sit down before it, the council of the town sent two of the aldermen to invite the lord lieutenant thither, being within less than a day's journey of the city. How he was used when he came almost to the gates, is before remembered ; and how the same aldermen were sent out to inform him, that there was a mutiny raised to hinder

his being received; and till that was appeased or composed, he was desired to forbear approaching nearer. That mutiny was raised by one Wolfe, a friar, who persuaded the simple people, that the receiving the lord lieutenant would be a great prejudice to their religion; which, with the countenance of alderman Thomas Stretch, who was then mayor of that city, easily raised the tumult that caused the gates to be shut when he was ready to enter. This alderman and that friar were both taken, upon the surrender of Limerick, and both, without any formality of justice, hanged by those, who, but by them, would never in probability have been masters of the town. Lastly, this very colonel Fennell, who, by possessing himself of a port, and turning the cannon upon the town, betrayed the place to the rebels, though he had for the present the benefit of those articles, was, within few months after, taken by them, and, without any consideration of his late merit, was hanged, as the rest had been: in a word, all those who had been the first causers and raisers of the rebellion, or who with most malice and obstinacy opposed their return to the king's obedience, and had the misfortune to fall into the rebels' hands, as the bishop of Raffoe, who was taken and hanged by the lord Broghill; Jeffery Baron, who kept Waterford from receiving the lord lieutenant, taken afterwards at Limerick, and hanged there; and many others, were all made the examples of unusual rigour by the rebels, and are such monuments of calamity as are not frequently met with in story, and ought to be revolved by the survivors upon a just and pious recollection of God's wonderful proceedings against them.

And of
alderman
Stretch and
friar Wolfe.

And even
colonel
Fennell, by
whose
treachery
the rebels
were pos-
sessed of
the city.

Others
murdered
by the re-
bels; in-
stances of
God's jus-
tice, but
their cru-
elty.

The business of Limerick being thus over, Ireton, Ireton's in-
 within a few days after, and without drawing his ^{sulting}
 army nearer than the castle of Clare, sent a most in- ^{summons}
 solent summons to the town of Galway, wishing ^{to the town}
 them to put him to no more trouble, lest they fared ^{of Galway.}
 as Limerick did; adding such other threats as he
 thought most like to make impression upon them;
 and a great impression they did make: but by the ^{His death.}
 death of Ireton they had a little respite, the rebels
 not being so entirely united under command as be-
 fore; and then the town of Galway addressed them- ^{Galway de-}
 selves to the lord deputy, and desired his assistance, ^{sires the}
 "promising all obedience to his majesty's authority ^{protection}
 "in him:" nor was he so much discouraged by their ^{of the lord}
 former carriage, and their having accepted the arti- ^{deputy.}
 cles made with the duke of Lorrain, and their de-
 claring him to be their protector, without ever com-
 municating it to the lord deputy, as to decline having
 further to do with them. But upon their first address
 to him, he sent his secretary to them, with some di-
 rections; and shortly after went himself thither, hav-
 ing summoned such of the nobility, prelates, and prin-
 cipal gentry, as could with safety repair thither, to
 consult what might yet be done for their defence;
 they having still men enough dispersed in several
 parties to resist the enemy, if they were drawn to-
 gether and united among themselves; and the town
 of Galway was so good a port, that any supplies or
 succours might come from abroad to them.

All disputes upon command being quickly com- ^{But on ap-}
 posed among the rebels, a small party was sent, ^{pearance of}
 under the command of sir Charles Coote, to straiten ^{a party of}
 Galway; which wrought so far upon the assembly ^{the rebels}
 there, that they importuned the deputy to give them ^{desire to}
^{capitulate.}

leave to send to the commander in chief of the rebels for a safe conduct for their commissioners, "to treat " for some conditions for the nation, upon which they " might submit to the government of the parliament;" professing that they would in the mean time "make " such preparations for their defence, that if the parliament would not give them good and ample conditions, they would sell themselves at such a dear " rate, as should make their conquest of little use to " their enemies." But when they found that they could not have so much as a safe conduct sent for their commissioners, nor could be admitted so much as to treat for the nation, but only that particular places and persons might be admitted to compound for themselves, on such terms as others had done, their spirits failed them; and, after a very little deliberation, and before they put the rebels to the trouble of besieging them, without so much as consulting with the lord deputy, or asking his leave, (although he was less than half a day's journey of the town,) they entered into a treaty, and, in a short time after, surrendered the town into the hands of the rebels, who were amazed to see upon what easy terms they parted with their last town; having still, in loose parties over the kingdom, more men in arms to have defended it, than the English could have brought against it.

The town
surrender-
ed.

The marquis of Clanrickard did not leave the kingdom in many months after the surrender of this town; but endeavoured, by all means possible, to draw the scattered forces together, that he might once fight the rebels. But at last, after he had endeavoured in vain, and had received his majesty's commands, "to take care of his own security, and

“ that he fell not into the rebels’ hands ;” after he saw those, upon whose public fidelity and private affections he depended as much as upon any, fall every day from him, and submit to the rebels, upon such conditions as did hardly assure them of life at the best, having only liberty to transport themselves to the service of such foreign princes, as the rebels believed to be their friends ; and after he was reduced to those straits, that he durst not reside twenty-four hours in one place, for fear of being betrayed, and delivered up into the hands of the rebels ; and having no port to friend, where a vessel might attend to transport him ; he was in the end compelled to ask a pass from the rebels, which they willingly and readily sent to him ; and which he accepted, without making any other conditions for himself, than that he might for some time remain secure within their quarters, without taking the oaths usually imposed by them ; and afterwards have liberty to transport himself into parts beyond the sea. Whereas, if he had demanded a good proportion to be allowed out of his own great estate, and promised to have given them no further trouble, it is probable they would have consented to it : but the integrity and greatness of his heart would not suffer him to enjoy any thing by the favour and permission of those, whose destruction he desired, and meant always to prosecute : and so he transported himself, in a vessel belonging to the rebels, out of Ireland, about March or April 1652, after he had borne the title of the king’s deputy of that kingdom little more than two years, with very little more obedience from the catholic Irish, than had before been paid to the lord lieutenant.

Marquis of
Clanrick-
ard at last
forced to
leave the
kingdom.

This was the fate of that unhappy kingdom, both under the protestant and the Roman catholic governors; and as the catholic governor, and all other catholics over whom he had power, and indeed very many of the principal catholics of that kingdom, paid all the obedience due to the lord lieutenant, whilst he remained amongst them with the king's authority; so the same persons who most opposed him, and crossed and hindered the submission to his orders, and would have his religion to be believed the cause of the disobedience he found in the people, proved as inconvenient and refractory to the catholic governor: the same corporations continued the same disobedience to the latter, as well as to the former; and the same prelates and clergy supported and encouraged them in it; and, as if the public calamity and judgments, and the particular fate that hath befallen many of their friends, had made no impression upon their spirits, they have transplanted their uncharitableness and animosities, to keep them company in their banishment; and the same persons continue their virulency and bitterness against the one and the other, justify all those proceedings which have been the groundwork of theirs and their country's destruction, and of almost the extirpation of the catholic religion out of that kingdom; and yet are so extremely blinded with their passion, that they hope to be thought to suffer upon the impulsion of conscience, and for the Roman catholic religion, and, which is more strange, for their loyalty and allegiance to the king: and at the same time would be believed to be most obedient subjects to the king, and the most zealous assertors of the regal power; and at the same time justify and magnify the pro-

ceedings of the nuncio, reproach those catholics who adhered to the lord lieutenant, and to the peace made by the nation, as excommunicated persons; and all the other acts done afterwards by the clergy, without the least shadow of law or gospel to support them.

Having drawn this discourse to a greater length, ^{The conclusion.} than in the beginning I thought I should have had occasion to have done; I shall conclude with the earnest desires with which I began, that the small seduced number of that unhappy nation, which continue in the same error they began, and persevere in building upon such foundations as can support no structure of the catholic religion or loyalty, would seriously revolve what they have done; the condition which that nation enjoyed before the late rebellion, and the state into which they are now fallen; how much they have trespassed against the laws of God and the laws of the kingdom, in kindling that fire which hath consumed all their habitations, and is not yet extinguished, nor can be, but by their real acknowledgment and repentance. Let them remember, that they are subjects to a protestant king, and in a kingdom where the protestant religion is by the laws established, and the Roman catholic at least not countenanced and supported; and how incongruous a thing it is, and destructive to their own ends, to have it believed, that their religion doth oblige or prompt them to any actions repugnant to the loyalty they owe to their king, or to that obedience, without which the peace of the kingdom cannot be preserved: let them be so modest as not to affect to be thought better catholics than those

of their own country, who differ from them in the profession they make, and are much superior to them in quality and number; at least, let them not be thought to profess another faith than what the catholic church owns and acknowledges, and hold themselves obliged by their religion to do that as Irish catholics, or to justify it, (when they have done it,) which Italian, Spanish, and French catholics (whose religion is supported by law, and the other condemned) would hold sinful to do, though they had the pope's authority and command for every individual act. Do the prelates of the French church believe themselves qualified to excommunicate marshal Turenne, because he is not a Roman catholic, and is thought to be an enemy to that profession? And can they absolve his soldiers from obedience to him, whilst the king of France makes him general of his army? And what would the most Christian king do, if his prelates presumed to exercise that jurisdiction? If the catholics of Catalonia should after so many years rebellion return to their allegiance upon articles of indemnity from their king, and any nuncio should inhibit them to submit to those articles, as not ample enough for their security, would the king of Spain be well pleased with that presumption, and excuse those subjects, who out of the terror of such an excommunication should fall from that duty they had newly professed to him, or who sought absolution for not submitting to it? Will the republic of Venice, or any prince of Italy, suffer their subjects to pay such an obedience to St. Peter's chair, or will they distinguish proceedings against their subjects in such a spiritual rebellion,

and between those who raise arms, seize their forts, or conspire the death of their sovereign? If none of these catholic nations are liable to those obligations, nor can enjoy these privileges, how came the subjects of Ireland to be possessed of them, and the king of Ireland to be so much below his other brethren, the Christian monarchs? If their religion will not allow the same obedience to be paid to him, it is an ill argument to induce him to be gracious to that religion. Away then with that antichristian spirit of defending what hath been done amiss, only because it hath been done; and discrediting the catholic religion, as if it would not suffer its children to be dutiful and loyal subjects to protestant kings and princes; and let what was done in the beginning and progress of the rebellion against the elements of Christianity be acknowledged and repented before God, and no more justified to the world; and what was done in violation of the laws and government be acknowledged and excused to the king, by the distemper and accidents of the times, and the unjustifiable proceedings of those who were unhappily intrusted with the administration of justice and policy, without defending them by such principles as must leave the laws in danger always to be invaded by the same licence. Away with that uncharitable and undermining spirit of fomenting jealousy and animosity against the Roman catholic religion and the professors of it, by owning and professing an incapacity of living charitably and peaceably with those who are not of the same faith, and whose profession is cherished by the established laws of the land, the indulgence whereof the other desires

and expects; and of raising enemies to a nation, by sowing any national distrust, and dislike of any who have been for so many ages incorporated with them under the same obligation of religion or allegiance: and let there be a joint endeavour and emulation to justify and commend their several professions of distinct faiths, by producing the unquestionable effects of true religion, in the piety and sanctity of their lives towards God, the duty and obedience of their actions towards the king, and the kindness and peaceableness of their conversation towards each other, and all their fellow-subjects. Lastly, away with that immodest and rude spirit of reproaching and reviling those who, by their extraction, quality, and interest, are their superiors, and have been, or shall be, placed by the king in any degree of government or command over them; since the duty and obedience due to kings and princes includes a proportion of respect and reverence towards their deputies and ministers of trust: and let such civility of address and decency of language be used to them, as may dispose them to a temperate and candid consideration of their desires and complaints, at least that a just prejudice against their manners may not bring a fatal prejudice upon their profession and pretences. In a word, let them believe that any virulency, bitterness, and distemper of language, is not the plaster of Isaiah, to heal the wound, but of Hezekiah, to make it raw, though it were healed before; and let them make that sanctified use of what they have done and what they have suffered; of what they have heard, and what they have seen; that they may not fall under that curse of our Sa-

viour himself; *That seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted, and their sins should be forgiven them.*

THE END.

I N D E X.

INDEX.

Such references as have a W. prefixed to them designate Warburton's notes on those passages: all which are to be found at the end of the seventh volume.

- ABBOT**, George, archbishop of Canterbury, unfavourable character of, i. 156. reason of his promotion, *ib.* Calvinistic, 157. his remissness, 167.
- Aberdeen**, flourishing state of its university, i. 145.
- Abingdon**, quitted by the king's forces, iv. 480. possessed by the earl of Essex, *ib.*
- Ablin**, Jacob, iv. 373.
- Aboyne**, (see Auboyne.)
- Ackland**, sir John, iv. 119.
- Acts**, passed since the beginning of the parliament, 1640, i. 495. act of pacification between England and Scotland, 489. for triennial parliaments, 495. for taking away the high commission court, *ib.* for taking away the star-chamber court, 499. for the certainty of meets, bounds, and limits of forests, 501. limiting the office of clerk of the market of his majesty's house *ib.* for preventing vexatious proceedings touching the order of knighthood, 502. for the free making saltpetre and gunpowder within the kingdom, 503. against divers encroachments and oppressions in the stannery courts, *ib.* against ship-money, 504. (see Bill.)
- Action**, (see Battle.)
- Address of the lords justices and the council in Ireland to the king**, 1643, iv. 358. of the anabaptists to Charles II. in exile, vii. 254.
- Agitators**, as well as a council of officers, appointed by the army, v. 431. for what purposes, *ib.*
- Aken**, or Aquisgrane, here the king of the Romans ought to receive his first iron crown, vii. 107. famous for its hot baths, which are resorted to after the cold waters of the Spa, *ib.*
- Alberquerque**, duke of, vi. 450. n.
- Albert**, archduke, i. 85. iv. 551.
- Alexander VII.** (see Pope.)
- Algiers**, Charles I.'s notice of an act concerning the captives of, ii. 379. forced to a peace by admiral Blake, vii. 179.
- Allen**, captain, vi. 392.
- Alonzo**, don, (see Cardinas.)
- Alresford**, battle at, iv. 460.
- Alton**, skirmish at, iv. 455.
- Amirant**, M. vi. 573. n.
- Anabaptists'** address to Charles II. in exile, vii. 254. their propositions annexed to it, 267. the letter of one individual sent to the king with the address, 270.
- Anderton**, — ii. 605.
- Andrews**, Lancelot, bishop of Winchester, i. 157.
- Andrews**, Thomas, sheriff of London, iii. 333.
- Anne of Austria**, (see queen of France.)
- Annesly**, — i. 387.

R

INDEX.

- Annesly, — president of the council of state, vii. 425.
- Antrim, Randal Macdonnel, second earl of, married the dowager of the great duke of Buckingham, v. 92. his character, 93. joined the Irish rebels, *ib.* his part afterwards in the earl of Mountrose's expedition into Scotland in favour of the king, 95—112. made a marquis, 112. sent as a commissioner by the confederate catholics in Ireland to the queen, to petition the return of the lord lieutenant, viii. 74. his ambition of being made lord lieutenant of Ireland through the queen's favour, v. 523.
- Appleyard, sir Matthew, v. 177.
- Apprentices, a petition published in their name against papists and prelates, ii. 83. invited by the parliament to take arms, iii. 304. a tumultuous petition of them and others to both houses concerning the militia, v. 460. they rise, but are suppressed by Hewson, vii. 388.
- Apsley, sir Allen, v. 188.
- Apsley, Ball, v. 158. n.
- Aquisgrane, (see Aken.)
- Archduke of Austria, (Leopold William,) vi. 325, 331. vii. 99, 181, 283. removed from the government of Flanders, and succeeded by don Juan of Austria, 182, 186. treats with Charles II. near Brussels, 183.
- Arcos, duke of, vi. 383.
- Ardglass, earl of (see lord Cromwell.)
- Argyle, Archibald Campbell, seventh earl of, being a Roman catholic, is compelled by the king to give up his estates to his son, i. 226. retires beyond sea, *ib.* told the king he would live to repent of thus raising his son, *ib.*
- Argyle, Archibald Campbell, eighth earl of, iii. 312. v. 528. vi. 44, 45, 49, 87, 90, 93, 94, 95, 404, 413, 414, 422, 451, 457, 495, 578, 579. sides with the Scotch covenanters notwithstanding his obligations to the king, i. 225. his father's prophetic declaration of his future conduct, 226. transactions in Scotland respecting him, Mountrose, and Hamilton, ii. 16, 575. made a marquis, 19, 37. head of the violent party, iv. 431. hated by the earl of Mountrose, v. 92. his principles, with respect to the church and state, 130. inveterate against the king, 131. a fast friend of sir H. Vane's, *ib.* his conduct with regard to the Scotch parliament of 1648. vi. 8, 11. supposed to have invited Cromwell into Scotland, 92. was the creature of Cromwell, 158. his part in the public affairs of 1649, 273—281. clogs the act of proclaiming Charles II. with a clause for the covenant, 282. his object in so doing, 283, 294. his reasons for inviting the king into Scotland, 397, 398. surprised at the king's intention of accepting the proposal, he sends fresh conditions, which miss the king, 435. receives him respectfully, 437. his behaviour to him, 438. his power on the decline, 484, 485. the king escapes from him, 486. he treats him better after his return, 487. made to believe that the king would marry one of his daughters, 488. dissuades the king's marching into England, 491.
- Argyle, ninth earl of, (see lord Lorne.)

I N D E X.

Argyle, John Campbell, second duke of, and duke of Greenwich, *W.* iii. 299.

Armagh, James Usher, archbishop of, iv. 277.

Armagh, H. titular archbishop of, viii. 155.

Arminian points, contentions concerning, i. 163, 164.

Arminius, Jacobus, i. 164.

Armorer, sir Nicholas, vii. 146.

Armorer, sir William, vi. 291, 515. vii. 453.

Army, the king raises an army against the Scots, i. 201. discovery of some correspondences between the court and some principal officers of the English army, 428. the petition intended to be subscribed by the officers, 430. the true matter of fact concerning that petition, 433. the ill use made of it in the house of commons, 438. the mention of the former plot between the court and the army revived in the house of commons, 464. the armies disbanded, ii. 12. differences between the parliament and army, through Cromwell's instigation, v. 428. divers sects increase in the army, *ib.* Cromwell is declared head of the army, 430. the army erects a kind of parliament within itself, *ib.* agitators, as well as a council of officers, appointed by the army, v. 431. their first resolutions, *ib.* the parliament's declaration thereupon, 433. afterwards raised out of their journal book, 434. a committee of the parliament appointed to treat with a committee of the army, *ib.* Cromwell's behaviour at first in these mutinies, *ib.* the army seizè upon the king, 437. the

general's account of it to parliament, 439. distractions at Westminster upon notice of the army's coming towards London, 440. different designs of the parliament and army relating to the king, 450. the army wholly disposed to Cromwell's designs, 454. impeached eleven members of the house of commons, 455. the two speakers of parliament, with other members, join the army on Hounslow-beath, 461, 463, 465. the city sends six aldermen to the general, and submits, 467. the general conducts the two speakers and other members to their several houses of parliament, 469. the army quarters upon the city, *ib.* begins to be less regardful of the king, 479, 484. levellers grow up in the army, 486, 505. the large remonstrance of the army to the parliament, brought to the house by six officers, vi. 201. another declaration of the army to them, 204. their general marches for London, *ib.* Cromwell and his council of officers dissolve the parliament, vii. 6. a new one chosen by them, 12. a new council of officers, who consult about the government, 307. their address to the protector, Richard Cromwell, 308. who at their instigation dissolves the parliament, 311. the long parliament restored by them, 312. which appoints all military commissions to be signed by their speaker, 319. the petitions and proposals of Lambert's army, 367. the council of officers prepare a petition and representation to parliament, 368. the parlia-

I N D E X.

- ment make void all money acts, that there may be nothing to maintain the army, 369. cashier Lambert and eight other chief officers, *ib.* appoint seven commissioners to govern the army, 370. Lambert prevents the parliament from sitting, 371. the officers appoint certain general officers, 372. a committee of safety constituted by the army, 374. Cobbet sent to persuade Monk to concur with the army, 375. another sent to the army in Ireland to dispose it to submit to their power, 376. Monk declares for the parliament, 377. Lambert sent against him, 378. several troops declare for the parliament, 388, 390, 391. the parliament meet again, 392. and order Lambert's troops to their several quarters, *ib.* his army separates accordingly, *ib.* Charles II.'s letter to general Monk and the army, 454. their dutiful reception of it, 480.
- Bishop Warburton's observation of the influence of a brave well disciplined army for or against any revolution, *W.* vi. 41.
- Armyn, sir William, one of the committee appointed by the parliament to attend Charles I. into Scotland, i. 494. one of those chosen by parliament to treat with him at Oxford, iii. 489. his arrival there, 528. one of the commissioners sent by parliament into Scotland for relief, iv. 153.
- Array, commissions of, attempted to be revived by Charles I. iii. 572.
- Articles of treason against lord Kimbolton and five other members of the house of commons, ii. 124. of neutrality agreed in Yorkshire between both parties, iii. 437. but disowned by the parliament, 438.
- Arundel, Thomas Howard, earl of, i. 216. ii. 344. iii. 556. iv. 630. *W.* i. 99. his character, i. 98—100. affects a literary reputation, 99. married one of the heiresses of the earl of Shrewsbury, *ib.* purchased a collection of statues, &c. *ib.* chosen general of the army against the Scotch covenanters, 201. how he received their letter to him, 212. not employed in the second expedition, 249. made president of the court in the earl of Strafford's trial, being notoriously disaffected towards him, 380. his public employments, 100. n. 233. died in Italy, 100. his religion doubtful, *ib.*
- Arundel, earl of, (see lord Mowbray.)
- Arundel, (Alethea Talbot,) countess of, i. 99.
- Arundel of Wardour, Thomas, lord, wounded at Lansdown, iv. 125.
- Arundel, John, iii. 424, 551. n. iv. 412. v. 424. vii. 323.
- Arundel, John, the son, iv. 612.
- Arundel, colonel Richard, afterwards lord Arundel of Trerice, iv. 612. v. 270, 424. vii. 157.
- Arundels, the, v. 427.
- Arundel castle, surrendered to lord Hopton, iv. 453. retaken by sir W. Waller, 457.
- Ascham, — sent agent into Spain by the parliament, vi. 441. killed by some officers at Madrid, 443, 444. what was done in consequence, 445.
- Ashburnham, colonel, iii. 202, 425, 429. v. 158. n. 194. *W.* i. 428. notice of him respecting the supposed conspiracy be-

INDEX.

- tween the army and court, i. 535. 470. 471. ii. 4. iii. 160, 161, 593, 595, 596, 171, 609. made governor of Weymouth, iv. 496. *W. in loc.* deserted it upon the approach of the earl of Essex, 497.
- Ashburnham, John, iii. 247—249. v. 339, 369. n. 382, 405, 470. one of the commissioners of Charles I. to treat at Uxbridge, v. 37. entirely trusted by him, 382, 493. attended the king when he put himself under the protection of the Scotch army, 394. being forbidden to attend the king, he went to Paris, 381, 397. his return, 448. his and sir J. Berkley's transactions with some officers in the army, 448. *W. in loc.* 449, 479, 484, 485. how far concerned in committing Charles I. into the hands of colonel Hammond, 488, 489, 493, 494, 495, 499, 500, 501. by whom he had been influenced in all these transactions, 497. his apology for his conduct has been published, but, according to bishop Warburton is poorly written, *W.* v. 496. he and sir J. Berkley became enemies in consequence of this business, v. 496. acquitted both by Charles I. and Charles II. of any treasonable intentions in the matter, *ib.*
- Ashburton, lord Wentworth's horse beaten at, v. 281.
- Ashley, colonel Bernard, iv. 144, 157. (sir Bernard Astley) iv. 583.
- Ashley, or Astley, sir Jacob, (afterwards lord) ii. 2, 12, 306, 458, 479. iii. 194, 266. iv. 224. n. 316, 451, 485, 585. v. 336. made major-general of the king's army at the opening of the civil war, iii. 105, 610. wounded at Edge-hill, 292. takes possession of Reading, iv. 237. much consulted by the king on military affairs, 471. his character, 473. lately made a baron, v. 181. his part in the battle of Naseby, 181, 183. the command of the *posse comitatus* of the Welsh counties given to him, 228.
- Ashton, colonel, condemned and executed during the protectorship, vii. 253.
- Assembly of confederate catholics, (see Ireland.)
- Assembly of divines, 164 2. (see church of England.)
- Assembly of the kirk of Scotland, (see Scotland.)
- Assizes, (see Gaol-delivery.)
- Association of several counties formed under the earl of Manchester, iv. 464. association in the west, of which the prince of Wales is made governor, v. 85—7.
- Astley, (see Ashley.)
- Aston, lord, his death, i. 220.
- Aston, sir Arthur, iv. 23, 45, 46, 616. viii. 96. made colonel-general of the king's dragoons, iii. 266. a papist, 267, 462. his part in the battle of Edge-hill, 274, 278. made commissary-general of the horse, 339. garrisoned Reading, 319. n. 339. besieged and wounded, iv. 28, 40. n. a man of much greater reputation in war than he deserved, 40. n. much esteemed where he was not known, and much disliked where he was, 550. given up to an immoderate love of money, *ib.* made governor of Oxford through the queen's influence, *ib.* *W. in loc.* his hatred of colonel Gage, 551. whom he tries to prevent being

INDEX.

- made his successor at Oxford, 594. he being pensioned and removed from the government in consequence of the loss of his leg, 594. garrisons Tredagh, vi. 351. and Drogheda, but could not hold out against Cromwell, viii. 102.
- Atkins, sergeant, iii. 407.
- Attorney general usually advanced to be keeper of the great seal, i. 81. not usual for him to be a member of parliament, 369.
- Aubigny, George Stewart, lord, fell at Edge-hill, iii. 286. *n.* 287. iv. 65. a suspicion that he was killed by one of his own officers, *ib.* notice of him, 289.
- Aubigny, (Catharine Howard,) lady, iv. 45, 296. how far concerned in the design of Mr. Waller and Mr. Tomkins, iv. 65, 70. imprisoned by the parliament in consequence, 68. vi. 221. and would have been put to death, had she not made her escape, *ib.* to the Hague, 291. where she died, 296. her character, and share in the king's affairs, 292.
- Auboyne, (Aboyne,) John Gordon, lord, one of the Scotch lords who accused the duke of Hamilton of treason, iv. 628.
- Aviliana, princess of, married the duke of Medina de los Torres, vi. 385. *n.*
- Aulger, — an agent of the parliament in France, iii. 358.
- Aumigeu, John, one of the anabaptists who signed an address to Charles II. vii. 266.
- Austria, archduke of, (see archduke.)
- Ayscue, sir George, takes or sinks thirty sail of the Dutch merchants, vi. 401. fights the Dutch fleet near Plymouth, *ib.* Scilly delivered up to him, 611. B.
- Bacon, justice, iii. 407. iv. 342.
- Bacon, sir Francis, lord chancellor, a friend to the duke of Buckingham, but ruined by urging his good advice too vehemently, *W.* i. 60.
- Baggot, colonel, made governor of Litchfield by prince Rupert, iv. 36. of a good family in that county, *ib.*
- Baily, — vi. 75. vii. 421.
- Bainton, sir Edward, iii. 375.
- Baker, colonel, taken prisoner at Cropredy-bridge, iv. 503.
- Balcarris, (Balcarras) Alexander Lindsay, lord, afterwards earl of, a petition intended of the Scotch presbyterians by him and Frazier, that the chancellor of the exchequer might be removed, vii. 59. urges Charles II. to go to Scotland, 110.
- Balfour, sir William, dismissed by Charles I. from being lieutenant of the Tower, ii. 80. how the house of commons took his dismissal, 81. observations on his discharge, 122. *W. in loc.* the command of the parliament horse chiefly depended upon him at the battle of Edge-hill, iii. 272, 274, 289, 632, 634. reminded by the earl of Lindsey of his obligations to the king, 288. ordered to observe sir W. Waller's commands, iv. 455. present with him at the battle of Alresford, 460. escapes with the earl of Essex's horse through the king's army in Cornwall, 531. *n.* 544, 559.
- Ball, sir Peter, one of the commissioners of the four associated counties who were summoned to Bridgewater by the

INDEX.

- prince of Wales, v. 152. invites the commissioners to propose to the prince to make lord Goring his lieutenant-general, 156. how far concerned in the design of a petition to the prince, to send conditions of peace to Fairfax, 241.
- Ballard, colonel, iii. 188. *n.*
- Ballysonan taken by the marquis of Ormond, viii. 100.
- Balthazer, colonel, vii. 187.
- Bamfield, or Bamford, colonel, notice of, iv. 457. his endeavours to become governor of Arundel castle, *ib.* aids the escape of the duke of York beyond sea, vi. 18. made groom of his bedchamber in consequence, 20. indignant at sir J. Berkley being made the duke's governor, *ib.* how far concerned in the factions in the prince's fleet at Holland, 33, 35, 126. dismissed from his attendance on the duke, for infusing into him a desire to command the fleet, 139. was afterwards a spy under Thurlow, *W. in loc.*
- Bamford, (see Bamfield.)
- Banbury castle surrendered to Charles I. iii. 296. relieved by the earl of Northampton, iv. 580.
- Bancroft, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, eulogium of, i. 156.
- Banks, sir John, iii. 407, 550. attorney-general, promoted to the common pleas, i. 368. an idea of making him lord keeper of the great seal, ii. 497. notice of his character, 498. signed the declaration of the king's lords and counsellors disavowing any intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. his house, Corfe castle, defended by his lady with some few gentry, iv. 213.
- Barbadoes delivered up to the parliament forces, vi. 610. vast fortunes made there, *ib.*
- Barclay, — one of the parliament commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 37.
- Bard, sir Henry, governor of Cambden house, v. 174. *W. in loc.* notice of his licentious acts, *ib.*
- Barebone, Praise-God, a leather-seller, an eminent speaker in the parliament, which was afterwards named after him, vii. 13. presents a petition to parliament from the fanatics to join others with Monk in the command of the army, 406.
- Barnstable yielded to colonel Digby, iv. 219. transactions there, especially complaints against sir R. Greenvil, v. 201.
- Barnwall, sir Richard, one of the commissioners of trust in Ireland, viii. 192.
- Baron, Jeffery, kept Waterford from receiving the lord lieutenant, viii. 228. afterwards hanged there, *ib.*
- Baronius, cardinal, continuation of his history, published under the name of Oldericio Raynaldo, viii. 72.
- Basing-house, the seat of the marquis of Winchester, relieved by colonel Gage, iv. 551. again besieged and abandoned, 593. taken by Cromwell, v. 337.
- Basset, sir Arthur, v. 332.
- Basset, sir Thomas, major-general of the Cornish, iv. 99, 144.
- Bastwick, John, M. D. an opponent of episcopacy, i. 166. his character, 349. punished for libelling, 352, 530. how re-

INDEX.

- ceived on his return from exile, 349, 354, 531.
- Bastwick, Dr. iii. 147.
- Bath taken possession of by the king's Cornish forces, iv. 140.
- Bath, Henry Bourchier, fifth earl of, i. 421. one of the lords that signed a declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 71, 571. sent with the marquis of Hertford into Devonshire, from his supposed power there, 120. taken prisoner, 227. his intentions towards Charles I. *ib.* one of the lords that signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632.
- Bath and Wells, William Pierce, bishop of, complaints against, for exorbitant acts, i. 358. signed the bishops' petition on their constrained absence from the house of lords, ii. 116.
- Batten, captain William, made vice-admiral, ii. 340. iii. 116. hostile to Charles I. ii. 340. iii. 112, 116. notice of his rise and character, 589. his part in preventing the fleet from declaring for the king, 589, 112. dissatisfied at the parliament appointing Rainsborough to be admiral of a fleet, vi. 23, 24. joins the prince of Wales, is knighted, and made rear-admiral, 36, 37. his appointment not liked by the sailors, 37, 138. retires with the leave of Charles II. 138.
- Battle of Keinton, or Edge-hill, iii. 273, 630. at Bradock-down, 428. on Hopton-heath, 458. at Charlgrave, iv. 90. near Stratton, 100. at Lansdown, 122. of Roundway-down, 134. at Torrington, 218. at Newbury, 235. at Alresford, 460. at Cropredy-bridge, 500. at Marston-moor, 509. second battle at Newbury, 582. of Naseby, v. 183. near Lamport, 208. at Ashburton, 281. at Chester, 283. near Preston, vi. 75. at Dunbar, 455. at Worcester, 510. of Dunkirk, vii. 283.
- Bavaria, Wolfgang William, duke of, i. 37, 58.
- Baynton, — ii. 320.
- Beauchamp, Henry Seymour, lord, iv. 534, 535.
- Beaufort, duke de, vi. 585.
- Beaumonts, — i. 16.
- Beckly, colonel, iv. 89.
- Beckwith, — ii. 445.
- Bedford taken by prince Rupert, iv. 314.
- Bedford, Edward Russell, third earl of, iii. 293. Oliver St. John made a peer through his means, *ib. n.*
- Bedford, Francis Russell, fourth earl of, i. 436, 460. ii. 93. one of the king's commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, i. 274. much courted by them, 275. his object in countenancing the puritans, 317. Pym wholly devoted to him, 323. St. John of an intimate trust with him, to whom he was in some sort allied, 325. sworn a privy-counsellor, 341. one of the governing voices in the house of lords, 347, *n.* was to be treasurer, 369, 371. gets St. John made solicitor-general, 370. not hostile to the church government, yet did not discountenance the non-conforming clergy, 409. *W. in loc.* laboured to save lord Strafford's life, 422. his conversation with Mr. Hyde concerning the king's feeling and

INDEX.

- wishes with respect to him, 423. desirous of healing the breaches between the king and people, 436. secretly undertook to save lord Strafford's life, but died too soon, 446, 534. afflicted at the intemperance of his party, 446. bishop Warburton's observation on this part of his conduct, *W. in loc.*
- Bedford, William Russell, fifth earl of, (afterwards duke of,) iii. 418. iv. 204, 206, 208, 268. sent by the parliament, as their general of the horse, against the marquis of Hertford in Somersetshire, iii. 202, 608. challenged by him to fight a duel, 225. drives him from thence, 225, 226. his part at the battle of Edge-hill, 271, 274. goes over to Charles I. iv. 193. debate in the council at Oxford how he should be received, 197, 202. his reception, 200. *n.* 209—211, 224. *n.* present with the king at the battle of Newbury, 262, 333, *n.* makes his peace with the parliament again, 271, 332. his estates in Devonshire granted to sir R. Greenvil by the king, v. 214.
- Bediford yielded to col. Digby, iv. 219.
- Bedingfield, sir Thomas, committed to the Tower, ii. 343.
- Beling, Richard, one of the commissioners of trust in Ireland, viii. 192.
- Bellasis, — ii. 452.
- Bellasis, Harry, M. P. for Yorkshire, signs the articles of neutrality agreed on in that county, iii. 437.
- Bellasis, John, afterwards lord, joins, with a regiment, the king's standard at Nottingham, iii. 251, *n.* sent into Yorkshire, 437. present at the siege of Bristol, iv. 144. where he was wounded, 151, 615. the command of York, and the forces for the guard of the county, intrusted to him, 421. being a person of great interest in the county, and of exemplary industry and courage, *ib.* defeated and taken by sir T. Fairfax at Selby, 422. appointed governor of Newark, v. 297, 300. ordered by the king to surrender it, 396.
- Bellievre, monsieur, fixed upon by queen Henrietta and cardinal Mazarine as ambassador into England, v. 378. his instructions, 405. his negotiations at London, and afterwards at Newcastle, with Charles I. 409.
- Bellingham, — killed at the battle of Edge-hill, iii. 295.
- Bellingham, sir Henry, vi. 89.
- Bennet, — secretary to sir J. Berkeley, vi. 476—478.
- Bennet, colonel, iv. 217.
- Bennet, sir Henry, sent envoy to Madrid, vii. 235. what he did there, 345, 347, 356, 359, 446.
- Bennet, sir Humphrey, distinguished himself at the second battle of Newbury, iv. 588.
- Berkley, sir Charles, v. 154, 234, *n.*
- Berkley, of Berkley-castle, George, twelfth lord, one of the committee sent by parliament to Charles II. at the Hague, vii. 499.
- Berkley, sir Robert, justice, iv. 286. committed to the Tower, *ib.* fined, *ib.*
- Berkley, sir John, iv. 318. v. 166, 168, 217, 233, 255, 498. vi. 476. sets out for Holland,

INDEX.

being obnoxious to the parliament, iii. 160, 593. returns, 161. sent into the west, 120, 181. joins the marquis of Hertford at Sherborne, 202. sent by him into Cornwall, 226. joined in the command of the western parts, 425, 426. advances with others to Tavistock, 429. whereupon the earl of Stamford retires, 430. overruns Devon, 431. his part in the battle of Stratton, iv. 99. present at the dislodgement of the enemy from Merdip-hill, 116. sent back into Devonshire, 119. besieges Exeter, 169, 214, 215. sends colonel Digby into Cornwall, 216. present at the battle at Alresford, 425, *n.* 426, *n.* 448. appointed to blockade Lyme, 573. ordered to take the command of sir R. Greenvil's forces, v. 148. wherewith he takes Wellington-house, 149. besieges Taunton, 151. sir R. Greenvil hostile to him, 149, 162, 163. how he had been benefited by him, 214. cause of their animosities, 164, 165, 218. ordered to intend the work before Plymouth, 188, 206, 207, 212. sent by the prince of Wales to confer with lord Goring, 194. attends the prince at Barnstable, 203. after his surrender of Exeter waits upon the queen at Paris, 446. sent by her to the king, 447. his and Mr. Ashburnham's transactions with some officers of the army, 448. *W. in loc.* 479, 484. his part in the king's escape from Hampton-court, 488, 498, 499. sent by the king to treat with col. Hammond about receiving him,

489. some notice of him, 492. wrote an apology of his conduct as to the king's escape, 496. which has since been published, *W. in loc.* bishop Warburton's opinion of it, *ib.* he and Ashburnham became enemies in consequence of this affair, 496. acquitted both by Charles I. and II. of any treasonable intentions in the business, *ib.* transports himself again into France, after the king went to the Isle of Wight, 495. made governor to the duke of York, vi. 20. not agreeable to the duke, 33. by whose instigation, 33, 34. his conduct in this post, 126, 559. being superseded by lord Byron, he does not accompany the duke to Brussels, 477. had most of the queen's favour, 559. urges the duke to join the French army, 560. his motives for so doing, *ib.* pretends to the mastership of wards, 562. the chancellor of the exchequer tries to dissuade him, 563, 564. the king denies it him, 564. whereupon he breaks with the chancellor, 565. the late king had not a very good opinion of him, 563. upon lord Byron's death has the chief management of the duke of York's affairs, 588. designs mademoiselle de Longueville for the duke's wife, 589.

Berkley, sir William, governor of Virginia, surrenders it to the parliament forces, vi. 610, 611. suffered to remain there as a private man, 611.

Berkshire, Thomas, lord Howard of Charlton, first earl of, one of the commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, i.

INDEX.

274. one of the lords who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. took prisoner, and committed to the Tower by the parliament, 227. notice of his character, 546. made governor of the prince of Wales, iv. 350. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, 632. Charles I. regrets having appointed him his son's governor, v. 11. sided against the prince's council in the west, 155, 202, n. 234, 235. jealous of the prince's intention of going into France, 318. or into Jersey, 362. returns into England from Jersey, upon the prince's going into France, 406.
- Berkshire, second earl of, (see lord Howard of Charlton.)
- Berkstead, — *W.* vi. 254.
- Berwick, taken possession of by the earl of Essex against the Scotch covenanters, i. 203, 509. delivered to the parliament, vi. 90.
- Betteley, colonel, condemned and executed, vii. 253.
- Beza, Theodore, vi. 169.
- Bill passed for raising two subsidies; the commons naming commissioners to receive the money, i. 364. which method was afterwards continued, *ib.* a bill for a triennial parliament passed, 367. a bill of attainder brought into the commons against the earl of Strafford, 397. passed in a few days, 405. a bill passed in the commons to take away the bishops' votes in parliament, 410. rejected in the lords, 415. a bill brought into the commons for extirpating bishops, deans, and chapters, &c. 416, 536. but laid by for that time, 418. revived and committed, 482. laid aside, 484. a bill for settling the militia preferred, 486. read once, 488. a new bill in the commons to take away bishops' votes, ii. 24. a bill prepared in the commons for pressing men for Ireland, 68. its preamble excepted against by the lords, 69. passed, 73. a bill for settling the power of the militia received by the commons, 79, 80. touching the bill against the bishops' votes, depending in the house of lords, 82. the militia-bill passed by the commons, 179. and by the lords, 226. the lords pass the bills touching the bishops' votes and pressing, 228. which are passed by the king, 249. (See acts and parliament.)
- Binion, George, disfranchised and fined by the parliament for being concerned in the London petition against their settling the militia, ii. 347.
- Bishoprics, several vacant, filled up to the dissatisfaction of the house of commons, ii. 25.
- Bishops, how their attendance at the earl of Strafford's trial was set aside, i. 380. wrong in acquiescing, 382. a bill passed the commons to take away the bishops' votes in parliament, 410. rejected in the house of lords, 415. a bill brought into the commons for extirpating bishops, deans, and chapters, 416, 536. laid by, 418. revived and committed, 482. laid aside, 484. bishops censurable for not advising the king to persist in his refusal to

I N D E X.

- sign the bill condemning the earl of Strafford for treason, 451. a new bill in the commons to take away bishops' votes, ii. 24. touching it, depending in the house of lords, 82. all the bishops intimidated by the mob from attending the house of lords, 90, 103, *n.* ill-advised by archbishop Williams to protest against the legality of the proceedings of the house of lords during their constrained absence, 113. copy of the protest drawn up by the archbishop, 114. censure of this measure, 120. twelve that subscribed accused of treason by the commons, and sent to the Tower, 118. the bill depriving them of their votes passed in the house of lords, 228. reasons suggested to the king for depriving them of their seats in the house of lords, 247. he passes the bill chiefly through the queen's persuasions, 248. the twelve imprisoned bishops bailed by the house of lords, 260. re-committed by the commons, 261. (See episcopacy.)
- Bishops do not constitute a distinct estate in parliament, according to the opinion of bishop Warburton, *W.* ii. 119.
- Blague, colonel, iv. 224, *n.*
- Blake, admiral Robert, encounters the Dutch fleet, vi. 598, 599. takes their fishingbusses and their guard-ships, 601. appointed one of the three admirals of the fleet in 1653, though not thought to be enough devoted to Cromwell, vii. 21. the Dutch beaten by this fleet, *ib.* appointed to a fleet in 1655, as Cromwell had all confidence in him, 173. sent into the Mediterranean, 175. forces Algiers to a peace, 179. and burns a fleet in the harbour of Tunis, *ib.* Moutague joined in commission with him, 189. beats a Spanish fleet at Santa Cruz, 212. dies on his way home, 215. his burial and character, *ib.*
- Blake, colonel, iii. 320, *n.*
- Blavett, — vi. 357, *n.*
- Blunt, sir Charles, iv. 480.
- Bois, (see Boys.)
- Boles, colonel, killed in an action at Alton, iv. 456.
- Bolingbroke, Henry St. John viscount, *W.* v. 349.
- Bolingbroke, (see Bullingbrook.)
- Bolton, sir Richard, chancellor of Ireland, iv. 393.
- Bond, — ii. 27.
- Boorke, mayor of Limerick, viii. 28, *n.* (See Bourke.)
- Booth, sir George, vii. 337, 435. undertakes to possess himself of Chester for Charles II. vii. 323. seizes it, 332. his and sir T. Middleton's declaration, *ib.* Lambert sent against them by the parliament, 334. who routs sir G. and takes Chester, 335. sir G. escaped, but was taken and sent to the Tower, *ib.* released from prison, and chosen a member of the new parliament, 432. one of the committee sent by parliament to wait on the king at the Hague, 499.
- Borgia, Cæsar, v. 544.
- Borlase, (Burlase,) sir John, iv. 393. made a lord justice in Ireland, ii. 585. notice of his character, *ib.* and of his conduct, viii. 167.
- Borrel, monsieur, Dutch ambassador at Paris, vi. 603.
- Bostal-house taken by colonel Gage for Charles I. iv. 494, 495.

I N D E X.

- Boswell, sir William, the king's resident in Holland, vi. 211.
- Boteler, sir William, killed in the action of Cropredy-bridge, iv. 504.
- Bouchier, George, hanged for conspiring to deliver up Bristol to the king, iv. 57.
- Bourke, John, alderman of Limerick, viii. 141. (See Boorke.)
- Bowing at the name of Jesus forbidden by parliament, ii. 7.
- Boys, or Bois, colonel, garrisoned Donnington castle, iv. 237. bravely defended it, 542.
- Brabant, — v. 205.
- Brabazon, Edward, iv. 393.
- Brachamonte, don Diego de, vi. 387.
- Bradock-down, sir R. Hopton, beats the parliament forces under Ruthen there, iii. 428.
- Bradshaw, John, v. 255, 322. made lord president of the court of justice to try king Charles, vi. 217. notice of him, 218. his conduct in the trial, 231.
- Braganza, duke of, (see king of Portugal.)
- Brainford, or Brentford, earl of, (see general Ruthen.)
- Bramston, sir John, chief justice, iii. 268, 407.
- Brandenburgh, Frederick William, elector of, vii. 119, 120.
- Brandon, Charles, duke of Suffolk, v. 229.
- Brandon family, v. 229.
- Brent, sir Nathaniel, a commissioner to reform the university of Oxford by the rule of the covenant, v. 481. the same who translated father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, *W. in loc.*
- Brentford, or Brainford, earl of, (see general Ruthen.)
- Brereton, (see Bruerton.)
- Bret, captain Edward, iv. 539.
- Brett, colonel, iii. 466.
- Bridges, captain, iv. 448.
- Bridges, major, drowned, iv. 487.
- Bridgman, sir Orlando, notice of his character, ii. 605. iii. 448. his public situations, ii. 605. v. 37. was instrumental in keeping Chester firm to Charles I. iii. 448. one of the king's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 37, 60.
- Bridgewater taken by the marquis of Hertford, iv. 110. retaken by sir T. Fairfax, v. 223.
- Brill, the, given up by king James, i. 115.
- Bristol, a design of giving up the city to prince Rupert, how prevented, iv. 57. besieged by him, 141, 611. surrendered upon articles, 145. delivered up by the prince, v. 244.
- Bristol, John Digby, first earl of, i. 66. ii. 344, 348. iii. 591. v. 255. vi. 335. as ambassador extraordinary in Spain he had negotiated the marriage between prince Charles and the infanta, i. 20. duke of Buckingham's reflections against him respecting this match, 38. iii. 544. the real reason of his being recalled from Madrid, i. 38, 39. king James's opinion of him, *ib.* committed to the Tower for treason, owing to the weakness of that king 42. accuses Buckingham of treason, *ib.* how he had given offence to Buckingham in Spain, 64, 65. one of the commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, 274. sworn a privy-counsellor, 341. one of the lords that signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, 72, 571. one of those excepted by parliament from

INDEX.

- being allowed to make their peace with them on any terms, 239. his dismissal from the king's councils proposed to Charles I. by parliament, 406. his character, 544. where he died, *ib.* was one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632. retired into France at the end of the war, iii. 545. summoned from Caen to attend prince Charles at the Louvre, vi. 22, 23, *n.* by whom he was less regarded, owing to Mr. Elliot, 334. died in France, iii. 545. bishop Warburton's observation respecting him, *W.* iii. 546.
- Bristol, second earl of, (see George lord Digby.)
- Broad seal, a new one voted by parliament, as the king had the old one, iv. 339. delivered to six commissioners, 341.
- Broghill, Roger Boyle, lord, afterwards first earl of Orrery, the province of Munster possessed for the parliament by his activity and lord Inchiquin's, v. 521. as president of Munster, was disposed towards Charles II. from hatred of Lambert, vii. 475, 477. hanged the titular bishop of Raphoe, viii. 228.
- Bromicham, determined hostility of this place to the king's cause, iii. 276. taken by prince Rupert, iv. 33.
- Brooke, Fulke Greville, first lord, i. 86.
- Brook, Robert Greville, second lord, i. 397. ii. 606. refuses to make the protestation of loyalty at York, i. 207, 509. one of the commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, 274. hostile to the earl of Strafford and archbishop Laud, 321. of what party in the house of lords, 347, *n.* how far trusted, 348, *n.* he and lord Say the only positive enemies in the house of peers to the whole fabric of the church and of the state, 409. governed for the parliament in Warwickshire, iii. 608, 276. driven thence by the earl of Northampton, 460. mentioned by the king in one of his declarations, as one whom he should indite for treason, 618. certain counties associated against the king under his command, 453. shot in besieging Litchfield cathedral, 454, 455. his character, 455. called by bishop Warburton a man of virtue and conscience, *W.* vi. 126.
- Brook, Robert Greville, fourth lord, one of the committee sent by parliament to wait on Charles II. at the Hague, vii. 499.
- Brown, — one of the parliament commissioners intrusted with the new broad seal, iv. 340.
- Brown, colonel, v. 438.
- Brown, major-general, vi. 489. commanded the parliament garrison at Abingdon, iv. 549. one of the committee appointed by parliament to receive Charles I. at Newcastle, v. 422. one of the leading men in the house of commons, 454. committed to prison by the house, vi. 208.
- Brown, Jeffery, one of the commissioners of trust in Ireland, viii. 192. sent with sir N. Plunket to treat with the duke of Lorraine, vi. 614. viii. 211.

I N D E X.

Brown, sir John, iv. 585, 586.
 Brown, Samuel, iii. 407.
 Brownerigg, Ralph, made bishop of Exeter, ii. 25.
 Bruce, Edward, lord, slain in a duel by the earl of Dorset, i. 106.
 Bruce, lord, one of the committee sent by parliament to wait upon Charles II. at the Hague, vii. 499.
 Bruerton, or Brereton, sir William, M. P. for Cheshire, hostile to the church, iii. 448. marches into Cheshire, *ib.* fortifies Nantwich, 449. notice of his character and conduct, 451. present at the battle of Hopton-heath, 456. his and sir J. Gell's unreasonable demand as a ransom for the earl of Northampton's body, 460. the strength of his forces, iv. 394. joined by sir T. Fairfax, 429.
 Buck, colonel sir Brutus, fell at the siege of Bristol, iv. 144, 149. 612. notice of him, 149, 613.
 Buckhurst, Thomas Sackville, lord, treasurer, created earl of Dorset on king James's first entrance, i. 106. educated his grandchild Edward, afterwards earl of Dorset, *ib.*
 Buckhurst, Richard Sackville, lord, afterwards fifth earl of Dorset, iii. 381.
 Buckingham, George Villiers, first duke of, i. 86, 103, 113, 319. ii. 99. iii. 257, 550. *W.* i. 15, 20, 45, 78, 160. advised the dissolutions of the two first parliaments of Charles I. i. 10. to escape impeachment, 10, 46. this advice the cause of his murder, *ib.* his conduct easily accounted for, 11. blasphemously called our Saviour by sir E. Coke, *ib.* his rise, 15. first owing to

the handsomeness of his person, 16. which was universally admired, 67. he was a younger son of sir G. Villiers, *ib.* partly educated in France, *ib.* succeeded the earl of Somerset as the favourite of James I. 17. made cupbearer to him, 18. his numerous promotions, *ib.* had the disposal of all the public honours and offices, *ib.* how he dispensed them, *ib.* many thought that James grew weary of him, and would have deprived him of his power had he lived, 19. why not probable, *ib.* James never well pleased with him after prince Charles's journey to Spain, 20, 32, 39. why and how he contrived the journey, 20. this circumstance the beginning of the confidence between him and the prince, enmity previously existing, 22. his behaviour to the king on this occasion, 19. (usually called Stenny by king James,) 30. his behaviour to sir Fr. Cottington, whose opinion was against the journey, 31. having offended the king on account of the Spanish match being broken off, he resolves to court the parliament and people, 35. iii. 565. his account to parliament of Charles's journey, *ib.* he reflects therein against the earl of Bristol, 38. was the cause both of the rise and fall of the earl of Middlesex, 39, 40. offended king James by the impeachment of the earl, *ib.* the king's prophetic declaration in consequence respecting parliamentary impeachment, 41. continues king Charles's favourite after his accession, 43. and has the dis-

INDEX.

- posal of every thing, 44. brought Charles's bride from France, 47. was general at the unfortunate descent upon the isle of Rhé, 47. his brave conduct there, 56. particulars of his assassination by Felton, at Portsmouth, whilst preparing to embark for Rochelle, 47—53. how the king received the news of his death, 54. 55. his character, 55. called by bishop Warburton, a minister the most debauched, the most unable, and the most tyrannical that ever was, *W.* i. 73. the origin of his enmity with the earl of Oxford, 57. occasion of his avowed hostility to sir Fr. Cottington, 58. how far afterwards reconciled, 60. his never gaining a true friend, a chief cause of his misfortunes, *ib.* bishop Warburton calls this a mistake, and says, that lord chancellor Bacon was his friend, and ruined himself by urging too vehemently his good advice; *W. in loc.* inherited a vast fortune by his wife, (Catharine Manners,) sole heiress of the earl of Rutland, 62. two particulars most hurtful to his reputation, *ib.* the first his engaging king James in a war with Spain, in consequence of his quarrel with Olivarez, 63. particulars of it, *ib.* the second, his involving him in a war with France, owing to a private amour, 67. endeavoured to estrange Charles from his wife, 68. these two wars the cause of his ruin, 73. an account of a prediction of his death, 74. the bishop of Lincoln removed from the keepership of the great seal, owing to his displeasure, 81. made Weston lord treasurer, 85. the earl of Manchester rose by his favour, 96. and the earl of Holland, 111, 112. and sir D. Carleton, 115. guided by Laud in the disposal of the church preferment, *ib.* to make himself popular, he sought the friendship of lord Say; but finding him too imperious, and to affect too dangerous mutations, he cast him off, *iii.* 565. how far concerned with the fortunes of sir H. Vane, the elder, 567. courted by sir R. Greenvil, *iv.* 564.
- Buckingham, George Villiers, second duke of, *vi.* 403, 487, 494, 518, 579. *W.* *vi.* 438. rises with the earl of Holland in favour of Charles II. *vi.* 5, 6, 95. the earl being routed, he escapes into Holland, 98. the only English person of quality allowed to be about the king in Scotland, 437. gave himself wholly up to the marquis of Argyle, 486, 495. having broken off his friendship with duke Hamilton, and the earl of Lauderdale, 495. solicits the king, whilst at Worcester, to make him general in chief, 507. refused, 508. bishop Warburton's remark on this request, *W. in loc.* and on his character, *ib.*
- Buckingham, (Mary Beaumont,) countess of, *i.* 69, 78.
- Buckingham, (Catherine Manners,) duchess of, *i.* 62.
- Buckinghamshire petition to the house of commons, *ii.* 166. the house of lords, 168. and the king, 169.
- Buckland Monachorum in Devon, *v.* 214.
- Bulkeley, Launcelot, archbishop of Dublin, *iv.* 393.

INDEX.

- Buller, sir Richard, iii. 418, 421, 422.
- Bullingbrook, (Bolingbroke,) Oliver St. John, earl of, one of the parliament commissioners intrusted with the new broad seal, iv. 340. one of the few peers who attended the house of lords, 403, 630.
- Bunkly, lieutenant-colonel, iv. 556.
- Burgess, Dr. ii. 25.
- Burlacy, sir John, a lord justice in Ireland, iii. 482.
- Burlase, (see Borlase.)
- Burly, captain, iii. 114. vi. 198. stirs up the people in the Isle of Wight for Charles I. v. 510. is condemned and executed, 511.
- Burnet, Gilbert, bishop of Sarum, *W.* i. 160. iv. 431. vi. 9. his account of Charles II. changing his religion confuted according to bishop Warburton, vii. 129.
- Burton, Henry, an opponent of episcopacy, i. 166. his character, 349. punished for libelling, 352, 530. how received on his return from exile, 349, 353, 531. preaches against episcopacy, ii. 83. his sermon printed under the title of the Protestation protested, 83, 563.
- Bushel, Brown, executed for having gone over to the king, vi. 555.
- Butler, lieutenant-colonel, iv. 547.
- Butler, sir Edmond, basely murdered at Wexford, viii. 105.
- Butler, colonel Richard, present at the battle of Rathmines, viii. 98.
- Byron, sir John, afterwards lord, iii. 225, 233, 235, 628. vi. 54, 562. viii. 71. made lieutenant of the Tower, ii. 82.
- the house of commons petition for his removal, 172, 198. the house of lords refusing to join them, 198. notice of his family and character, *ib.* the king dismisses him at his own request, 235. his part in the battle of Edge-hill, 274. and at Roundway-down, iv. 134. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, 633. notice of him, 424, *n.* his conduct as governor of Chester and Shropshire, 424, *n.* 426—430. v. 175. made governor of the duke of York, vi. 20. gets possession of Anglesey, and disposes North Wales to aid the king's cause, 43. accompanies the duke of York to Brussels, 477. not consulted about the duke's going there, 476. or about his proposed marriage, 478. sir J. Berkley tries to prejudice the duke against him, 559, 560. his death, 588.
- Byron, sir Nicholas, iii. 188, *n.* 266, 272. wounded at the battle of Edge-hill, 292. made governor of Chester, 449. notice of him, *ib.*
- Byron, sir Thomas, notice of, iii. 619. wounded at the battle of Hopton-heath, 458, 459.

C.

- Cadiz, or Cales, unsuccessful attempt against, i. 6, 47, 70, 72. ii. 50.
- Cæsar, sir Julius, master of the rolls, i. 92.
- Cæsar, Robert, notice of, i. 92. a remarkable story with relation to him and the earl of Portland, *ib.*
- Calamy, Edmund, one of the presbyterian divines who had a

INDEX.

- public audience of Charles II.
at the Hague, vii. 501.
- Calendar, James Livingston, first
earl of, ii. 37. iii. 311.
- Cales, (see Cadiz.)
- Calvin, vi. 169.
- Calvinian party, notice of, i. 156.
strong at Oxford, 159.
- Cambden house wantonly burnt
down by sir H. Bard, v. 174.
W. in loc.
- Cambridge, university of, contri-
butes plate and money for the
use of Charles I. iii. 246.
- Cambridge, earl of, (see marquis
of Hamilton.)
- Canons, (see Scotland.)
- Cansfield, sir John, wounded in
the second battle of New-
bury, iv. 584, 589.
- Canteeroy, countess of, vi. 478.
- Canterbury, archbishop of, (see
Abbot, and Laud.)
- Capel, — i. 373.
- Capel, Arthur lord, iv. 394. v. 84,
143, 268, 270, 271, 304, 307,
317, 318, 332. n. 425, 479.
one of the lords who signed
the declaration, that Charles
I. had no intentions of war,
iii. 72, 571. sent to borrow
money of the earl of Kingston
for the king, 247. made lieu-
tenant-general of Shropshire,
Cheshire, and North Wales,
451. one of the lords who
signed the letter to the privy-
council, and conservators of
the peace in Scotland, iv. 633.
appointed one of the council
to the prince of Wales, v. 111.
and one of the king's commis-
sioners to treat at Uxbridge,
37. sent to Taunton, 148. and
to Exeter, to investigate the
complaints against sir R. Green-
vil, 163. goes to Scilly, 322,
359. sent with lord Colepep-
per to Paris, to dissuade the
queen from sending for the
prince of Wales to France,
367. how far they prevailed,
380, 382. his opinion against
the prince's going, 400. re-
mains in Jersey after his de-
parture, 406. waits on the
king at Hampton Court, 475,
476. was in the most secret
part in all the intrigues in the
king's favour, vi. 20. joins the
rising in Essex, 61. remon-
strates in favour of his fellow
prisoners at Colchester, 100.
how treated by Fairfax, 102.
sent to the Tower, 103. a new
high court of justice appointed
for his trial, and that of some
others, 252. his behaviour at
his trial, 253. *W. in loc. W.*
vi. 254. Bradshaw's insolent
expressions to him, vi. 255.
condemned, *ib.* account of his
escape, and recapture, 258. be-
headed, 263. his speech on the
scaffold, *ib.* his character, 264.
- Capuchin friars, attendant upon
the queen, sent back to France
by the parliament, iii. 237.
- Carbery, Richard Vaughan second
earl of, baron Vaughan in Eng-
land, one of the lords who sign-
ed the letter to the privy-coun-
cil, and conservators of the
peace in Ireland, iv. 632.
- Cardinas, don Alouzo de, am-
bassador from the king of
Spain in England, i. 492. vi.
328, 364, 386. n. 441. vii.
181, 452, 493. treats with
the parliament, v. 349. vi.
249. malignant towards the
king, 249, 387. buys his pic-
tures, &c. after his murder,
ib. makes it believed at Ma-
drid that the king's affairs
were desperate, 387. ordered
by Cromwell to leave Eng-
land, vii. 181. his intrigues

INDEX.

- with the levellers, 183—185. the chancellor of the exchequer sent to confer with him at Brussels, 225, 229. disliked the earl of Bristol, 232. urges the king to make a conjunction with the levellers, 278. don Juan recalled through his influence, and the marquis of Carracena's, 338. continues firm to the levellers, 445. and possessed the court of Madrid with the same spirit, 446.
- Cardinas, Antonio de, vi. 359.
- Careless, captain, persuades Charles II. to hide himself in the oak, vi. 519. and conducts him thence to a place of safety, 520—524.
- Carew, sir Alex. iii. 421. *W.* iv. 321. possesses the east part of Cornwall for the parliament, iii. 418. notice of him, iv. 319. treats of a surrender of the fort of Plymouth to the king's forces, but is surprised, *ib.*
- Carleton, sir Dudley, afterwards viscount Dorchester, secretary of state, i. 113. his character, 114. his previous occupations, *ib.*
- Carlingford, earl of, (see viscount Taffe.)
- Carlisle delivered to the parliament, vi. 90.
- Carlisle, James Hay, first earl of, previously viscount Dorchester, i. 108. of much authority in the council of king James, *ib.* with whom he came into England, *ib.* his education and character, *ib.* sets the example of the greatest expense in clothes and diet, 109. the earl of Holland his friend, 111. was first gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles I. 140. married the earl of Northumberland's daughter, iii. 551. and obtained his release from prison, *ib.*
- Carlisle, (Lucy Percy,) countess of, iii. 632. vi. 66, 136. *W.* ii. 13, 127, 232. betrays the queen's secrets, ii. 13, 603. called by bishop Warburton the Erinnyes of that time, *W.* ii. 541.
- Carlos, don, infante of Spain, i. 64—66.
- Carnarvon, Robert Dormer, first earl of, iii. 610. iv. 107, 171. *W.* iv. 214. one of the lords who signed the declaration that Charles I. had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. and one of those who were excepted by parliament from making peace with them on any terms, 239. present at the battle of Edge-hill, 631. his gallant conduct at Mendip-hill, iv. 116—118. his part in the battle at Lansdown, 122. and at Roundway-down, 133, 134, 609. marches into Dorsetshire, 211. Dorchester, Weymouth, and Portland, surrender to him, 213, 220. reason of his quitting his command, and returning to the king before Gloucester, 214. slain at the battle of Newbury, 239. his character, *ib.*
- Carnewarth, (Carnwath,) Robert Dalzell, second earl of, v. 292. turns the king's horse out of the field of battle at Naseby, v. 184. marches with lord Digby to Doncaster, 292. after the defeat at Sherborne, he retires into Ireland, 293, 294.
- Carpio, marquis of, vi. 383.
- Carr, (Ker,) Henry lord, ii. 576.
- Carr, ——— governor of Cirencester, taken prisoner, iii. 417.
- Carr, major, iv. 544.
- Carracena, marquis of, vii. 363, 364, 452. appointed to command the Spanish army in

INDEX.

- Flanders, vii. 182, 186. receives the marquis of Ormond with great civility, 226. and the earl of Bristol, 232. he and don Juan neglect the prince of Condé's advice, 281. and lose the battle of Dunkirk in consequence, 285. procures the recall of don Juan, 338. and obtains the government of Flanders for himself, *ib.* his intention of seizing Charles II. 452. twice invites him back to Brussels, but in vain, 492.
- Carrington, lord, iv. 461.
- Carteret, or Cartwright, captain, afterwards sir George, v. 425. refuses the vice-admiralty under the earl of Warwick, ii. 340. iii. 115, 116. supplies the king's forces with ammunition, 433. had the command of Jersey under lord Jermyn, vi. 352. which he defended as long as he could, 608. ordered by the king to surrender on conditions, 609.
- Cartwright, sir Hugh, vi. 118.
- Cartwright, (see Carteret.)
- Case, — one of the presbyterian divines who had a public audience of Charles II. at the Hague, vii. 501.
- Cashel, titular abp. of, viii. 127.
- Cassel, (see Hesse Cassel.)
- Castile, admirante, account of his altercation with the marquis de Liche, vi. 370, 373, 374.
- Castille, Roderigo, marquis of, one of the Spanish council of state, vi. 382. notice of him, 385. *n.*
- Castlehaven, — Touchet, earl of, vi. 622. viii. 85, 86, 137, 205.
- Castle Talbot surrendered to the marquis of Ormond, viii. 87.
- Castleton, — Saunderson, lord, one of the committee sent by the house of commons to wait on Charles II. at the Hague, vii. 499.
- Castrilio; condé of, one of the Spanish council of state, vi. 382. notice of him, 386. *n.*
- Cavaliers, use of the term, ii. 93. all banished twenty miles from London by the parliament, vii. 320.
- Cavendish, Charles, afterwards sir Charles, sent into Lincolnshire, iii. 446. present at the battle of Marston-moor, iv. 510. notice of him, *ib.*
- Cecil, sir Robert, vi. 466.
- Cessation agreed on at Rippon, i. 282. cessation of arms concluded for a year in Ireland, 1643, iv. 364. disowned by parliament, *ib.*
- Chafin, Dr. i. 103.
- Chalgrave-field, the action there, iv. 84. Hambden mortally wounded, 90.
- Chaloner, — iv. 188. vi. 221. his trial and execution, iv. 75.
- Chancellor of the exchequer, (see Hyde.)
- Chancellor of Scotland, (see earl of Loudon.)
- Chancels ordered by parliament to be levelled, ii. 7.
- Chandois, George Bridges, sixth lord, Sudley-castle, his seat, iv. 231. notice of him, 489.
- Charenton, the ministers of, press Charles II. to go to their church, vi. 572. seconded by lord Jermyn, *ib.* Hyde dissuades him, 573. he refuses to go, 575.
- Charles I. (as prince of Wales) i. 111. (as king) i. 422, 473. ii. 80, 81, 174, 175. iii. 174, 280, 636, 476. iv. 65, 152, 197, 201. 224, *n.* 231, 246, 263, 265, 333, *n.* 350, 517. v. 158, *n.* 169, 446. vi. 20, 82.

INDEX.

vii. 106. viii. 2, 3, 7, 11, 15, 18, 19, 21, 24, 52, 53, 61, 62, 66, 177. state of the country at his accession, i. 6. bishop Warburton's opinion of his intentions at the beginning of his reign, *W.* i. 8. peace concluded with Spain and France, i. 6, 117. its happy effects, 118. *W.* in loc. causes of an exhausted exchequer, i. 6. expedients for its replenishment, 7, 119. Charles's declaration at the close of the parliament in his fourth year, 7. its ill effects, 118. bishop Warburton's observation upon it, *W.* i. 118. precipitate dissolution of parliaments one cause of the future calamities, i. 7. Charles unfortunate in the persons about him, 8. who advised the dissolutions of the three first parliaments, and why, 10—12. how Charles would have been benefited by not preventing parliament from impeaching any of his servants, 13. state of the court about that time, 15. how the duke of Buckingham induced him, when prince, to go to Spain, 20. which was the commencement of the confidence between them, enmity previously existing, 22. how James's consent to the journey was obtained, 22—32. his reasons against it, 27. (Charles usually called Baby by king James,) 30. sir Francis Cottington's opinion against it, 31. the Spanish match was broken off in consequence of this journey, 32, 66. Charles duped by the Spanish court, *W.* i. 34. Buckingham's account of the journey to parliament, i. 35. one statement was, that the Spaniards tried to persuade

Charles to turn papist, 36. the parliament's resolution against Spain, 38. king James's prophetic declaration to his son concerning parliamentary impeachments in consequence of his countenancing that against the earl of Middlesex, 41. a treaty set on foot for his marriage with a daughter of the king of France, 43. great joy at his accession to the throne, *ib.* which happened at a favourable conjuncture with respect to foreign powers, *ib.* Buckingham continues his favourite, *ib.* and has the disposal of every thing, 44. how the news of Buckingham's death was received by him, 54. the supposition that it was not ungrateful incorrect, 55. he respected his memory, 79, *n.* the marquis of Hamilton had great power over his affections, 82. twice paid the debts of lord treasurer Weston, 90. *W.* in loc. makes money by knight-hood, 119. revives the forest laws, 120. levies ship-money *ib.* the powers of the council-table and star-chamber enlarged, 121. these measures censured, 122. the felicity of the times before the long parliament, 131, 162. compared with the times of queen Elizabeth, 131. and of king James, 132—135. what was wanting to complete this happiness, 136, 507. notice of Charles's character, 135. his journey into Scotland to be crowned, 138, 139, 508. his reception, 140. yet the seeds of succeeding commotions then sown, 142. his intentions of introducing the English liturgy into Scotland, 146, 151, 508. his at-

INDEX.

tachment to the church of England, 144, 146. his feeling towards the Scotch nation, 151, 195. erects the bishopric of Edinburgh, 152. unseasonably prefers some bishops in Scotland to secular offices, 154. his return to England, 156. unfavourably disposed to the Calvinistic party, 161. his passion for hunting, 176. his design of making a park between Richmond and Hampton Court, *ib.* opposed by bishop Juxon and lord Cottington, 177. and by archbishop Laud, 178. the disturbance in Scotland by the covenanters the first interruption of the peace and prosperity of his reign, 200. the king raises forces against the covenanters, 201. appoints the earl of Arundel general, and the earl of Essex lieutenant-general, *ib.* and the earl of Holland general of the horse, 202. provides a fleet also under the marquis of Hamilton, *ib.* the earl of Essex possesses Berwick, 203. the king might have finished the war at once, if it had been vigorously pursued 205. his error in summoning all his nobility to attend him on this expedition, 205, 509. one evil consequence, 206. the king goes to the borders of Scotland, 209. sends the earl of Holland as far as Dunce, *ib.* his retreat from thence, 210. the king supposed only to have intended a show of war, 214. the Scotch style of address to the king, 215. a treaty concluded, 217. the king wrong in not holding the Scotch parliament to settle the differences, in person, 218, 511. me-

lancholic at the disgrace of this expedition, 221. the earl of Argyle joins the covenanters notwithstanding his obligations to him, 225. calls a parliament after twelve years discontinuance, April 1640, 229. for what reason, *ib.* chiefly by the advice of the earl of Strafford, 229. offers to it to give up his claim to ship-money for twelve subsidies, 258, 514. but dissolves it before the point was settled, owing to misrepresentations of their proceedings, 245, 246, 516. public regrets at this step, 246. his own, 247. money lent him by voluntary loans, 247, 518. his preparations for a new war against the Scotch, 248. he makes the earl of Northumberland general, and lord Conway general of the horse, 249, 250. and designs the earl of Strafford to succeed the earl, 254. Warburton's censure of this measure, *W. in loc.* a great council of peers summoned to attend the king at York, in consequence of a defeat at Newburn, 260. what step should have been taken after it, 286. state of affairs at court at that time, 260. the persons then composing the committee of state, 263. the king allows the marquis of Hamilton to ingratiate himself with the Scotch covenanters, 270—272. he declares his intention to the great council of calling a parliament, 273. reflections on this measure, 284, 285. the Scots petition the king, 274. a treaty appointed at Rippon in consequence, *ib.* error in this point, 288. the commissioners, *ib.* their proceedings, 275. ad-

INDEX

vised by the earl of Strafford to prosecute the war, 280. adjourns the treaty to London, whither he returns, 289. the error of this step, 291. a want of union among the king's friends, 293. the parliament meets, November 3, 1640. 295. the king prevented from making sir J. Gardiner speaker of the house of commons, not being able to procure him a seat in the house, 296. his ill choice of Lenthall, 297. he allows the privy-counsellors to be examined as to the earl of Strafford's conduct at their board, 339. the irreparable evil of this concession, *ib.* allows several of the popular party to be sworn as privy counsellors, 341. the ill consequences, 345. great license in preaching and printing, 348, 355. the king appoints several of the puritanical party to office, in hopes of saving the earl of Strafford, 369, 372. his friends and party dispirited, 369. present at the earl of Strafford's trial, 382. willing to have him imprisoned for life, or banished, but declares he could not give his assent to an act of parliament impeaching him of treason, 423. correspondence between the court and some officers in the army, 428, 438, 464. Warburton's comment, *W.* i. 436. copy of the petition to the king intended to be subscribed by the officers, i. 430. by the advice of lord Say the king declares before parliament that he could not sign the bill condemning the earl of Strafford of treason, though dissuaded from the step by the earl, 447, 448. how resented by the commons,

448. the mob endeavour to intimidate the king, 450. advised by his council to give his consent to the bill, *ib.* archbishop Williams's ignominious advice on the subject, 451. the earl advises him to pass it, 452. signs it by commission, *ib.* how perhaps he had better have acted, 453. signs the bill giving up to parliament the power of dissolving itself, 456. Warburton thinks he should have risked any thing rather than have signed it, *W. in loc.* its effects on the commons, i. 475. the king takes the staff of lord chamberlain from the earl of Pembroke, 460. and gives it to the earl of Essex, 461. his princely and fatherly affection for his people, 504. petitioned by parliament to defer his promised visit into Scotland, 485. begins his journey notwithstanding, 489. arrives at York, ii. 14. why anxious to go to Scotland, i. 490. prevailed on by parliament not to allow any of the disbanded Irish army to enlist in the service of foreign powers, 492. attended into Scotland by a committee of both houses of parliament, 494. ii. 14. expects no farther trouble from Scotland, ii. 581. the Irish rebellion disadvantageous to his affairs, 19. he refers it to the consideration of parliament, 22, 583. charged by some of having fomented it, 23, 584. viii. 12—14. Warburton's comment, *W.* ii. 23. he fills up several vacant bishoprics, to the indignation of the house of commons, ii. 25. why weary of his visit to Scotland, 35. the duke of Lenox his only counsellor there, *ib.*

INDEX.

he passes all the acts presented to him, 37. and confers several great offices, *ib.* returns to England, *ib.* his concessions in Scotland embolden the disaffected in England, 39. a remonstrance against him carried in the commons, 40—43, 61, *n.* substance of it, 49. the ways by which the puritanical party grew in the commons, 57. the king had no servant of ability in the house, 59. his reception in London upon his return from Scotland, 62, 63. the remonstrance presented to him with a petition, 63. his answer to the petition, 65. he resides at Whitehall instead of Hampton Court, petitioned thereto by the corporation of London, 67, 596. his right of pressing abrogated by an act of parliament, 69—73. his interference whilst any bill was pending declared to be a breach of privilege, 71. the power of the militia declared by St. John not to be in the king, 77. his appointment of a lieutenant of the Tower ill-judged, 80, 123. his answer to the petition of the commons for a guard, 85. he appoints lord Falkland secretary of state, 93. and sir J. Colepepper chancellor of the exchequer, *ib.* reasons for Mr. Hyde's declining his offer of a place, 97. the king's professions to be guided by these three with regard to the house of commons, 98. confided much in lord Digby, 99. why an unfit counsellor for him, 102. unfortunately sends the bishops' protestation respecting their constrained absence from parliament to the house of lords, 114, 117. the consequent vio-

lent proceedings of the commons would have been beneficial to him, had he not been misadvised by lord Digby, 121, 122. his situation at this period, 602. many of his council adverse to him, 603. injudiciously has lord Kimbolton and five members of the commons accused of treason, 124. advised thereto by lord Digby, 129. the articles against them, 124. the commons refuse to give up their accused members, 126. the king demands them in person, *ib.* goes after them into the city, where they had taken refuge, 130. his indifferent reception, 131. the consequent proceedings of the lords and commons, 132—140. the king distressed at his imprudent steps, 133. and at not having consulted lord Falkland, sir J. Colepepper, and Mr. Hyde, *ib.* his going to the house of commons voted by them to be the highest breach of privilege, 137, 138. his answer to the house of commons' former remonstrance, 140. declaration of his attachment to the church of England, 141. the city's petition to him, 146. his answer, 148. declaration of the commons touching the five members, and the king's measures respecting them, 156. sad consequence of the king's imprudent measures, 159, 183. which were imputed to lord Digby, 162. the king and the royal family remove to Hampton Court for security, 162. neither the earl of Essex nor the earl of Holland attend them, though it was the duty of their offices, 163. the Buckinghamshire petition to him,

I N D E X.

169. in consequence of several more of the same nature he removes to Windsor for greater security, 176. his message to both houses of parliament from thence, *ib.* unnoticed by them, 178. his intention to secure the magazines and stores at Hull, prevented by the commons, who appoint sir J. Hotham governor, 180, 181. his forlorn condition, 182. what line of conduct he should have pursued, *ib.* a new remonstrance prepared against him, 185. his proposition and message to both houses, 191. both houses petition him about the five accused members, 192. his answer, *ib.* the commons petition him to intrust the Tower of London and other forts to persons recommended by them, 198. his answer, 200. both houses petition him touching the Tower of London, forts, and militia, 228. his intentions of removing further from London, 230. the queen obliged to sell her plate to supply his and her wants, 233. his answer to the parliament's petition as to the militia, 234. makes sir J. Coniers lieutenant of the Tower at their request, 236. aspersions cast on him and the queen, *ib.* he demands reparation for an expression in the printed speech of Mr. Pym, 238. the answer of the house of commons, 239. his reply, 240. they persist in defending the expression, 242. he appoints the marquis of Hertford governor of the prince of Wales upon the earl of Newcastle's resignation, 244. reasons suggested to him for passing the bill depriving the bishops of

their seats in the house of lords, 246, 247. he signs it, chiefly at the persuasion of the queen, 1641. 248. ill effects of this step on his cause, 250. what reservation he may have intended in assenting to some of the bills, 252. if so, why erroneous, *ib.* his answer respecting the militia, 259. the reply of the commons, *ib.* the commons endeavour to prevent the prince's meeting him at Greenwich according to his order, 262. upon what pretended reason, 263. his farther answer concerning the militia, 264. votes of both houses upon it, 268. and petition to him, 269. his answer, 271. resolutions of both houses upon it, 272. an intention of parliament to take the prince away from him by force, 273. their declaration to the king, 274. and their reasons for his continuance near the parliament, 286. his answer to both, 287. his message to both houses in his way to York, 290. he consents to the parliament's propositions for adventurers in Ireland, 297. bishop Warburton's observations on his after-conduct with respect to Ireland. *W.* ii. 299, 307. his reception at York, 301, 327. his declaration from York, 302. observations on it, 311. petition of the lords and commons to him, March 26, 1642. 314. his answer, 318. its effect on the commons, 325. agreeably to his promise to the queen he removes the earls of Essex and Holland from their posts about him, 331. the removal of lord Essex one chief cause of his future miseries, 330, 610, 611. who-

INDEX.

ever accepted their offices voted enemies to their country by the parliament, 333. the commons disposed to have an admiral of the fleet appointed without applying to the king, 334. he interferes, *ib.* a message to him from both houses upon the matter, 335. his answer, *ib.* the earl of Warwick appointed notwithstanding, 337. the king not willing that any officers whom he valued should serve under him, 340. unfortunate result, *ib.* petition of parliament to remove the magazine from Hull, 350. his answer, 351. the magazine removed notwithstanding, 356. his message to both houses, April 8, 1642, offering to go in person to Ireland, *ib.* their answer, 360. his reply, 365. observations on this design, 373. his message to both houses concerning his refusal to pass the bill for the militia, April 28. 375. gentlemen of Yorkshire favourably disposed towards him, 382. particulars of his design of securing Hull, frustrated by sir John Hotham, 382—6, 608. his messages to both houses concerning Hull, 386, 387. his answer to their declaration and votes, 389. their answer to his two messages, 398. his reply, 400. his declaration in answer to that which the parliament had circulated respecting the militia, without sending it to him, 409. provides against the approaching storm, 425. the three votes of parliament in consequence of his appointing a guard for the defence of his person, 430. their petition to him to dissolve his guards,

431. his answer, 432. observations on this declaration, and vote that the king intended war against the parliament, 437. the king summons Skippon to repair to York, 446. forbidden by parliament to attend, *ib.* orders the term to be adjourned to York from Westminster, *ib.* counterordered by parliament, *ib.* declaration of both houses of what had been done amiss throughout the whole of his reign, May 19, 448. the lord keeper Littleton deserts the parliament, and joins the king at York with the great seal, 487. the king had been dissuaded through Mr. Hyde from taking it from him, 500. a fresh remonstrance of both houses to him, May 26. 504. many members of both houses join the king at York in consequence of it, 538. his answer to their declaration, *ib.* and to their remonstrance, iii. 1. the nineteen propositions sent to him by both houses, 38. his answer to them, 48. observations on his not putting himself in a posture of safety, 64. his declaration to the lords attending him at York, June 13, 69. the promise of the lords thereupon, 70. his declaration and profession, disavowing any intention of war, June 15. *ib.* another of the lords and counsellors present with him, 71. his declaration thereupon, 72. explanation why those members of both houses, who were favourable to the king, absented themselves from parliament, instead of remaining to oppose the measures of the opposite party, 81—89. he issues com-

I N D E X.

missions of array, 90, 572. published a declaration concerning the militia, and asserted his right of the crown to grant commissions of array, 90. declared illegal by parliament, 573. the parliament's petition to him in favour of the Yorkshire petition, which he had refused, 575. his answer, 578. the parliament's declaration to the city upon the king's letter to the lord mayor and aldermen, 93. his reply, 94. why he could not earlier have recourse to arms, 101. the difficulty the queen had to procure arms and ammunition in Holland, as the States were in favour of the parliament, 102. the small ship *Providence* brings arms and ammunition, the parliament not succeeding in intercepting it, 98, *n.* 103. the king grants commissions to raise troops, 105. appoints the earl of Lindsey general of his army, 105. three months' pay for his horse-troops subscribed by the lords and council about him, *ib.* account of his attempt to secure the fleet, and to revoke the earl of Northumberland's command, 106, 587. the earl of Warwick appointed by parliament in the place of the earl of Northumberland, 113, 588. some unfortunate circumstances connected with the king's loss of the navy, 115. lord Digby's return to England in disguise hastened the war, 591. the king anticipates the parliament in the seizure of Newcastle, 119. sends persons into several counties to execute the commission of array, *ib.* his proclamation from Beverley, 120. goes to Ne-

wark, 122. thence to Lincoln, *ib.* and then back to Beverley, *ib.* the parliament's petition to him there, July 15, 124. his answer, 127. his refusal to return a more gentle reply, 141. he goes to Doncaster, 145. thence to Nottingham, *ib.* and so to Leicester, where he is favourably received, *ib.* proofs that if he were more loved, the parliament was more feared, *ib.* he returns towards Hull, 149. the parliament's replication to his answer, 150. each party lay aside all thoughts of further overtures, 151. his preparations for war, 157. his pecuniary distress, *ib.* state and feelings of his own party, 158. his fruitless design against Hull, being encouraged by sir J. Hotham to attempt it, 169. for which purpose he had gone to Beverley, *ib.* he returns to York, 172. colonel Goring, governor of Portsmouth, declares for him, which obliges him to enter upon the war, 172, 606. his first measures, 610. observations on his proclamation forbidding the papists to join his army, *ib.* notice of his declaration to the people, 613. observations on his setting up his standard at Nottingham instead of York, 182. unfortunately dissuaded from seizing lord Fairfax and sir T. Fairfax, 186. he goes to Nottingham, 187, 188. marches to Coventry, 187, *n.* 188. which is shut against him, 187, *n.* 189. his standard erected at Nottingham, August 25, 189, *n.* 190. loses Portsmouth again through colonel Goring's neglect, 191, *n.* 195, 224. his condition at Nottingham, 193. the

I N D E X.

marquis of Hertford's actions in Somersetshire, 196. consultation about sending a message for peace to parliament, 203, 621. the king at first averse, 205, 621. the message, 207. how received, 208. the answer, 211. advised by some to repair to parliament himself, 212. his second message, *ib.* the answer, 214. and the parliament's declaration to the kingdom, 215. advantageous to the king, 216, 245. he removes to Derby, 217, 219. his third message to parliament in answer to their last reply, 218. his speech and protestation at the head of his forces after the reading of his orders of war, 220. he goes to Shrewsbury, 222, 253. the marquis of Hertford's proceedings in the west, 225. prince Rupert successful in a skirmish at Worcester, 235, 625. the king being at Chester, whence he returns to Shrewsbury, 252, 253, 626. of what advantage this skirmish was to him, 236. the petition of parliament to the king, sent to their general to be presented, 240, 626. why never delivered, 262. the two universities contribute their money and plate to him, 245, 246, 317, 350. the backwardness of some of his friends in lending him money one cause of his misfortunes, 251. an expedient for raising money from the Roman catholics, 255. some money obtained by the grant of a baronage, rather against the king's will, 256, 257. substance of his speeches to the gentry and commonalty of the counties through which he passed, 260. his demeanour

wins many others to him, 261. strength of his army at Shrewsbury, 263. its great want of arms, 265. he marches towards London, 267. faction begun in his army owing to prince Rupert, 269, 270. who was too much listened to by the king, 270. particulars of the battle of Keinton or Edge-hill, 273, 630. he appoints general Ruthen general of his army in the room of the earl of Lindsey, who fell there, 296. Banbury castle surrenders to the king, *ib.* his favourable reception at Oxford, 298, 317, *n.* where he recruits his army, 317. the condition and inclinations of Scotland, 308. why he should not have proceeded onward to London, 318, 319, *n.* the parliament's garrison quitting Reading, he marches thither, 318. advances to Colebrook, 323. a petition from both houses to him, *ib.* his answer, 324. his advance to Brentford, where he beats the enemy, sets aside the peaceable intentions of parliament, 328, 333, &c. the earl of Essex's army and the city trained bands opposed against him, 329. he draws off to Kingston, 330. thence to Reading, 331. his message to parliament, *ib.* another petition to him from parliament, November 24, 336. substance of his answer, *ib.* having garrisoned Reading and Wallingford, and some other places, he marches to Oxford, 339. Marlborough taken by his forces, 341, 342. substance of his message to the privy-council of Scotland upon occasion of the parliament's declaration to that kingdom, 344.

INDEX.

his means to raise money, 349. makes new sheriffs, 351. the inclinations of foreign states towards him or the parliament, 358. his declaration upon occasion of the parliament's ordinance for raising money, 374. the petition of the city of London to him to return to the parliament, 386. his answer, 390. expedients of the parliament to prevent its effect, 396. the city declares for the parliament, 400. the parliament's humble desires and propositions of peace to the king, January 1642. 403. his answer, 411. Chichester possessed by his forces, 415. lost again, 416. Cirencester taken by prince Rupert, 417. state of the king's affairs in Cornwall, 418—435. his forces victorious at Bradock-down, 428. and take Saltash, 430. come to Tavistock, 432. supplied with ammunition by captain Carteret, 433. a treaty between the two parties in Devon and Cornwall, 434. state of the king's affairs in Yorkshire, 435—444. articles of neutrality agreed on there, 437. but disowned by parliament, 438. sir Hugh Cholmondley revolts, and delivers up Scarborough castle to the queen, 446. state of the king's affairs in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Shropshire, 447—451. difference of temper in the common people who supported his cause, and such as were for the parliament, 452. state of his affairs in the counties between Oxford and York, 452—461. Stafford garrisoned by some gentlemen for the king, 456. his forces victorious on Hop-

ton-heath, but with the loss of the earl of Northampton, 458. state of his affairs in Wales, 461—468. observations on his appointing lord Herbert, a Roman catholic, general of South Wales, 462—464. *W. in loc.* who is routed by sir W. Waller, iii. 467. of what advantage the money expended in Wales would have been to the king at Oxford, *ib.* state of Ireland with reference to the differences between the king and parliament, 469—483. the king had information every day of what passed in parliament, 483. he puts parliament in mind of his proposition for a cessation of arms, 484. both houses agree there should be a treaty, and send for a safe conduct, 485. which he grants to all they name but lord Say, 486. the parliament's terms for a cessation, 487. different opinions of his privy-council as to his accepting them, 490. his proposals of alterations in them, 495. petition to him from the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland, 499. his answer, 509. transactions of the Scotch commissioners with him, that they might be mediators, and for a parliament in Scotland, 521. his answer to them in both particulars, 523. the treaty begins upon the proposals of cessation, but takes no effect, 528. what advantage the king might have derived from an assent to these proposals, 534. the parliament's advice to him concerning gaol-delivery, 535. his answer, 536. the assizes forbidden by an ordinance of parliament, *ib.* an account and

INDEX.

character of the privy-counselors at this time attending the king, and those who stayed with the two houses, 538—551. *n.* the sum of the demands and concessions of both sides upon the first article of the treaty, *iv.* 1. his message to parliament, April 12, 1643. 14. Warburton considers this the most unguarded step he ever took, *W.* *iv.* 17. they return no answer, *iv.* 17. what effect his appointment of the earl of Northumberland to be lord high admiral might have produced, 18, 19. prince Rupert takes Bromicham, 32. and Litchfield, 35. the king unsuccessful in attempting to relieve Reading, 36. articles upon which it surrendered, 38. the breach of them gave rise to similar breaches in future by both sides, 39. the king's proclamation against one clause of the articles, 43. arguments for and against an attack of Oxford instead of Reading, 39, 49. *n.* the evils that arose to the king from the trial of colonel Fielding for his conduct at Reading, 47. the probable result, had the earl of Essex marched to Oxford immediately upon taking Reading, 48. the king's message to parliament, May 20, 53. his messenger committed by the commons, 55. and the queen impeached by them of high treason for assisting him in the war, 56. the design of Mr. Waller and others in favour of the king, 57—71, 76, 599. the vow and covenant taken by parliament in consequence, 71, 72, 600. and throughout the city and army, 74. skirmish

in Chalgrave field fatal to Mr. Hambden, 83, 90. state of the king's affairs in the west, 95. his forces victorious near Stratton, 99, 100. a troop of cuirassiers the first that successfully opposed the king's horse, 120. the battle of Lansdown in his favour, 122—124, 605. and that on Roundway-down, 134, 608. meets the queen near Keinton, she coming with a great recruit, 139. Bristol taken by prince Rupert, 141—147, 611. why the king could make no farther application to parliament, 155. his declaration to his subjects after his late successes, 156. jealousies among his officers respecting the government of Bristol, 163. goes there to compose them, 166. reasons against uniting both his armies, 169. prince Maurice sent into the west with an army, 171. reasons for and against the siege of Gloucester, 174. the king marches there, and summons it, 177. besieges it, 181. propositions for peace given by the house of lords to the house of commons, 183. reasons for and against them, 184, 185. assented to by the commons, 186. if sent to the king, would have produced peace, *ib.* preached against in London, *ib.* the common council petition against peace, 187. the propositions rejected by the commons in consequence, 188. certain counties associated to serve the parliament, 196. debates how the earls of Bedford and Holland, and some other lords, who had withdrawn from parliament, should be received at Oxford, 193, 197. the

INDEX.

king comes to Oxford to consult about it, 200. his affairs in the west, 211. Weymouth and Portsmouth surrendered to his forces, 213. the parliamentary forces routed at Torrington, 218. Barnstable and Bedford yielded to prince Maurice, 219. Exeter surrenders to him, *ib.* the king is with difficulty persuaded to make sir A. A. Cooper governor of Weymouth, 225. prosecution of the siege of Gloucester, *ib.* the siege raised by the earl of Essex, 230. who also takes Cirencester, 231. negligent security a prevailing fault in the king's troops, *ib.* he intercepts the earl of Essex's return to London, by reaching Newbury first, 234. imprudent in risking a battle, 235. which was not decisive on either side, 236. had sir W. Waller cooperated with the earl of Essex it would have been decisive against the king, 238. temper of the army and court at Oxford upon the king's return, 259, 617. the lords who had deserted the parliament, and joined the king, return to the parliament, 270, 271. observations respecting the siege of Gloucester, and as to what might have been the best plan of operations, 617. divisions amongst the councils at Oxford, 299. the king obliged to break his resolution of conferring no honour or office until the end of the war, 300. inconveniences that arose to himself from his affability, 309. Bedford taken by prince Rupert, 314. Newport Pannel possessed by the parliament forces, 315. the

king's affairs in the west, *ib.* particulars of the failure against Plymouth, 316—323. Dartmouth taken by prince Maurice, 322. fruitless effort of the French ambassador, the conte d'Harcourt, to negotiate a peace between the king and parliament, 325—329. observations upon this proceeding, 329. the king's unfavourable reception of those who had deserted the parliament hurtful to his cause, 334. a letter from the peers on his side to the council in Scotland, 348, 630. the members who had left the parliament at Westminster summoned to repair to Oxford, 351—353, 633. the king's intentions with regard to Ireland, 354. address of the lords justices and council of Ireland to him, on the miserable condition of his army there, 358. who are obliged to treat with the rebels, 362, 363. a cessation of arms for a year in Ireland concluded, 364. disowned by parliament, *ib.* the king sends for English troops from Ireland, 394. reasons for and against his prohibiting trade with London, 635. which is prohibited, 638. the members of both houses meet at Oxford, 397. substance of the king's speech to them, 398. their considerations respecting a peace, *ib.* their letter to the earl of Essex, 400. the earl of Essex's answer, 403. an extract of the declaration of the kingdom of Scotland, 404. an extract of the declaration of England and Scotland, 407. the king's message to both houses, March 3, 1643. 412.

their answer, 413. Warburton's observations on both, *W. in loc.* means agreed upon by the parliament at Oxford to raise money, *iv.* 416. the parliament at Westminster imposes an excise, 418. that at Oxford follows the example, *ib.* substance of the declaration of the parliament at Oxford, 419. colonel Bellasis defeated at Selby by sir T. Fairfax, 422. the earl of Newcastle in consequence retires to York, *ib.* the marquis of Ormond sends the king aid from Ireland, 423, *n.* which under lord Byron is captured at Nantwich by sir T. Fairfax, 424, *n.* 429. the earl of Mountrose comes to the king and informs him of the state of Scotland, 431. bad state of his affairs, 442. prince Rupert relieves Newark, 443. Arundel castle taken by lord Hopton, 453. retaken by sir W. Waller, 457. lord Hopton worsted at Alresford by sir W. Waller, 460, 426, *n.* the association of several counties formed under the earl of Manchester, 464. who is ordered to join the Scots in the north, 465. the queen retires from Oxford to Exeter, 466. the parliament at Oxford prorogued from April till October, 468. the king undecided as to his plan of operations, 469. whom he chiefly consulted on military affairs, 471. Reading quitted by his forces, 474. plans of the parliamentary armies against him, 475. Abingdon quitted by his forces, 480. his deplorable condition at this time, 481. he is advised to surrender himself to the earl of Essex, 484. escapes

from Oxford to Worcester, 485—487. thence proceeds to Bewdley, 490. pursued by sir W. Waller, 489. who advances beyond him towards Shrewsbury, 491. whereupon the king returns to Oxford, 491—493. Weymouth delivered to the earl of Essex, 497. Lyme relieved by him, *ib.* the king marches from Witney towards Buckingham, *ib.* is advised by lord Wilmot to march towards London, 498. fight at Cropredy bridge, against sir W. Waller, favourable to the king, 500. marches towards the west, as the earl of Essex was before Exeter, where the queen then was, 507, 508. prince Rupert defeated at Marston-moor, 509. and quits the north in consequence, 510. the earl of Newcastle goes abroad also in consequence, *ib.* observations on this defeat, 511. York delivered up in consequence to the parliamentary forces, 513. the king continues his march towards the earl of Essex, 522. the queen retires to France, *ib.* the king pursues lord Essex into Cornwall, 525. makes an overture to him, which is not attended to, 530, *n.* 533. the enemy's horse escape him, the foot surrender on terms, 531, *n.* 545, 547. observations on the king's acceptance of these terms, 560. affairs at Oxford during the king's absence, 549. the king sends a message of peace to parliament, which was not noticed, 561. he leaves sir R. Greenvil to block up Plymouth, 562. goes to Exeter, 571. provides for the blocking up of Lyme, and restraining the garrison of Taunton, 573.

I N D E X.

marches to Chard, *ib.* thence to Sherborne, 575. thence to Salisbury, *ib.* defeats Waller at Andover, 577. relieves Donnington castle, 579. Banbury castle relieved by the earl of Northampton, 580. colonel Urry deserts the king, and discovers his plans, 581. the second battle of Newbury, 582. from which the king hastens to Oxford, 587. and from thence relieves Donnington castle again, 591. returns to Oxford, 594. Newcastle taken by the Scots, 596. the temper of the army and court at this time, v. 1. propositions of peace from Ireland rejected by the king, 5. the council appointed by him to attend the prince of Wales into the west, 11. divisions in the parliament at Westminster, 12. the independent party against peace, 18. the self-denying ordinance proposed, 21. passes, 90. fresh overtures of peace, 25. the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton sent to London with a message for a treaty, 28. the king sends archbishop Laud a pardon under the great seal, 33. declared by parliament to be of no effect, 35. the parliament agree to a treaty at Uxbridge, 36. the names of their commissioners, 36. and the king's, 37. particulars respecting it, 40. first, of religion, 45. secondly, of the militia, 60, 77. thirdly, of Ireland, 61. the king's commissioners had the better of the argument, according to Warburton, *W.* v. 66. Weymouth surprised by the king's party, v. 67. but lost again, 82. Shrewsbury

surprised by the parliament forces, 67. the end of the treaty at Uxbridge without effect, 80. the king melancholy at the state of his affairs, 82. association in the west in favour of peace, 84. the prince of Wales made general of the king's forces, and of this association, 87. Newcastle taken by the Scots, 91. the earl of Mountrose's expedition into Scotland, *ib.* the prince of Wales removes to Bristol, 114, 123, 137, *n.* 141. reasons why, 123, 134, 136, *n.* why the court had better have been removed into the west, 114. the marquis of Argyle inveterate against the king, 130. state of the western counties when the prince of Wales came to Bristol, 135. the prince summons the commissioners of the associated western counties to Bridgewater, 151. resolutions taken at Oxford, 170. Evesham taken after the king's departure, 174. the king takes Hawkesly-house, *ib.* storms and takes Leicester, 175. marches back towards Oxford, hearing that Fairfax had set down before it, 179. is defeated at Naseby, 183. the king's troops throughout the war undisciplined in rallying, 185. the king's cabinet falls into the enemy's hands, 186. many of his letters afterwards garbled and published to his prejudice, *ib.* the king retires by Litchfield to Bewdley, and thence to Hereford, 187. prince Rupert to Bristol, *ib.* the king should have retired into the west, 187, 222. the affairs in that quarter in the mean time, 187. notice

I N D E X.

of the club-men in Somerset and Dorsetshire, 197. the king goes to Abergaveny, thence to Ragland-castle, 221. thence to Chepstow and Cardiff, having altered his intention of going to Bristol, 222, 223. Leicester retaken by sir T. Fairfax, 222. Bridgewater taken by him, 223. false expectations of peace prevalent, 224. the king's letter to prince Rupert against treating of peace at that time, 225. he removes to Ludlow with the intention of joining the marquis of Mountrose in Scotland, who had been greatly victorious there, 230. his letter to the prince of Wales, ordering him to retire into France, whenever he might be in danger of falling into the rebels' hands, 231. France objected to by the prince's council, 235, 236. the king's answer persisting in France, 258. a design to petition the prince to send conditions of peace prevented, 240. prince Rupert delivers up Bristol, 244. Pontefract castle surrendered to the enemy, 246. the king goes to Doncaster, 247. thence to Newark, alarmed at the approach of Lesley, 248. thence to Oxford, 249. thence to Ragland, in order to relieve Hereford, *ib.* the Scots rise from before Hereford, whither the king marched, *ib.* the marquis of Mountrose defeated by Lesley, 248. the king's intention of relieving Bristol, 250. his letter to prince Rupert upon his surrender of that place, 252. revokes his commission, 253. through lord Digby's influence, 287. his letter to prince Charles,

recommending him to withdraw to Denmark, 276. another commanding him to retire abroad, and preferably to Denmark, 277. reasons against his immediate departure, 278. which his council decide against, 280. approved of by the king, 317. lord Wentworth's horse beaten at Ashburton, 281. the king marches to Chester, where his horse are routed by Pointz, 283. the king retires to Denbigh, 285. thence to Bridgenorth, 287. unfortunately persuaded by lord Digby to go to Newark instead of Worcester, 288. state of the garrison there, *ib.* lord Digby appointed general, and sent to join the earl of Mountrose, 292. his defeat at Sherborne after some previous success, 293. his cabinet of papers taken, and some afterwards published, *ib.* lord Digby retires to Ireland, 294. an account of the discontents of some of the king's chief commanders, 295. he retreats to Oxford, 302. his affairs in the west about this time, 303. lord Hopton's forces routed at Torrington by sir T. Fairfax, 314. prince Charles retires to Scilly, 320. lord Hopton's army dissolved, 322. the king's transactions at Oxford, 335. Cromwell takes Winchester and Basing, 337. the king sends some messages for peace, which were not noticed by parliament, 338. sends again for a safe conduct for the duke of Richmond and others, 339. their answer, *ib.* sends to desire a personal treaty at Westminster, 340. their answer, *ib.* he sends again, 341. their or-

dinance thereupon, 342. he tries in vain to deal with the independents, 342—345. a treaty between the king and the Scots set on foot by the interposition of France, 345. the parties cannot agree on the point of church-government, 353, 354. the defeat of lord Astley's forces, 355. the king's letter to prince Charles, enjoining him never to yield to any dishonourable conditions, not even to save his (the king's) life, 361. the prince removes to Jersey, 362. a letter from the king to him, exhorting him to continue firm, 365. negociations for and against the prince's removal into France, 363—376. a further account of Montrevil's negociation with the Scots, 383. the paper he sent to the king, being a promise for the Scots receiving him, 387. sends another messenger to prevent the king's journey, who is intercepted, 388. the king, having no better resource, puts himself under the protection of the Scotch army at Newark, 393, 394. his treatment by them, 395. orders Newark to be surrendered to them, that they might march northwards, 396. prince Charles removes to France, 404. transactions relating to the king in the Scotch army, 407. he is prevailed upon to order the marquis of Mountrose to lay down his arms, and to leave the kingdom, 408. Henderson employed to dispute with him concerning church-government, Warburton's observation on it, *W. in loc.* 409. the queen sends sir W. Davenant to per-

suade the king to give up the church for peace and security, 411. upon the Scots' desire he orders the surrender of Oxford and all his other garrisons, 416. the parliament, upon the Scots' request, send propositions of peace to him, 417. his answer, 418. the Scots enforce these propositions, *ib.* his answer to them, 419. the parliament demand, and the Scots deliver up the king for money, 419, 421. a committee and servants appointed by parliament to attend him, 421. he is brought to Holmby, 422. his request for the attendance of any two of his own chaplains refused, 423. several garrisons surrendered to parliament, *ib.* differences arise between the parliament and army, 428. (see Army,) the army seize upon the king, 437. his chaplains allowed him by the army, 441. he removes according to the marches of the army, 442. sir John Berkley sent from the queen to him, 447. Mr. Ashburnham comes to him, 448. the different designs of the parliament and army relating to him, 450. he is allowed to see his children, 454. removed to Hampton Court, 462, 470. his conversation with his children, 471. lord Capel waits upon him, 476. substance of his letter to the chancellor of the exchequer, *ib.* the marquis of Ormond visits him, 478. and the Scotch commissioners, *ib.* the army begin to be less regardful of him, 479, 484. his hopes blasted by the violent proceedings, 483. major Huntington tells him that

INDEX.

Cromwell would destroy him, if not prevented, 485. he escapes from Hampton Court, 488. confides himself to colonel Hammond in the Isle of Wight, 490—492. is lodged in Carisbrook castle, 492. observations on this whole business, *ib.* the parliament send to the king to pass four acts, 506. protested against by the Scotch commissioners, 507. his answer, *ib.* his old servants removed from about him, to prevent his further escape, 509. captain Burly's vain attempt at his release, 511. how his answer is received by parliament, and Cromwell's speech thereupon, 512. a vote and declaration of parliament that no more addresses should be made to him, 513, 515. odious to the people in general, 518. a meeting of Cromwell and his officers, wherein they design his destruction, 514. the Scotch commissioners' private treaty with him, 529, 530. observations on it, 531. substance of this scandalous treaty, 532. the king's condition in the Isle of Wight, 552. the temper of the nation at this time, vi. 1. revolt of part of the fleet to the king, 23. commotions in Kent for him, 25, 56—59. factions in the prince's fleet, 33, 63. Berwick and Carlisle seized for the king, 51. delivered up to parliament again, 90. the duke of Hamilton and the Scotch troops, who had entered England on the king's behalf, routed by Cromwell, 75. the earl of Holland routed, 97. and Colchester, whither the Kentish royalists had retired, taken, 99. the parlia-

ment resolves on a personal treaty with the king, 105. substance of their message to him, 106. his answer, 107. the vote against making any more addresses to him repealed, 109. the treaty to be at Newport, *ib.* an account of the taking of Pontefract castle for the king, 110. delivered up to Lambert, 125. the king's altered appearance, 157. the commissioners for the treaty arrive in the Isle of Wight, 152. the first proposition for revoking all the king's declarations, &c. 159. his answer, 160. disputes concerning the preamble, 162. he consents to it, 165. Warburton's observations respecting the preamble, *W. in loc.* the second proposition concerning religion and the church, *ib.* the king offers a proposition of his own, which the commissioners refuse to send to the parliament, 166. he sends it himself, 167. it is voted unsatisfactory, *ib.* their ministers dispute with the king about the bishops, *ib.* his concessions on this point, 170. the third proposition concerning the militia, 171. his answer, 173. voted by parliament unsatisfactory, *ib.* he consents to it with a preamble, 174. at last without it, *ib.* the fourth proposition concerning Ireland, 175. his answer, *ib.* some further particulars he at first refuses, but at last consents to, 176, 177. Warburton's observations thereupon, *W. in loc.* his proposition now sent to parliament by the commissioners, 177. a declaration required of him against the marquis of Ormond, 178. his answer, *ib.*

I N D E X.

the treaty continued fourteen days longer, *ib.* the demand against Ormond renewed, 179. his answer, *ib.* a further demand about the church, *ib.* his answer, 180. the parliament's votes upon his former proposition, 181. the treaty prolonged till November 25. 182. the declaration of the army, *ib.* new propositions against delinquents, especially the marquis of Ormond, 183. his answer, *ib.* the treaty further prolonged for a day, 184. proposition concerning Scotland, *ib.* his answer, 185. another touching the church, 186. his final answer, *ib.* sum of the king's letter to his son concerning the treaty, 187. the conclusion in his own words, 189. his attempt at an escape, 192, *n.* 195. a sharp debate in parliament on the commissioners' report of the treaty, 199. remonstrance of the army against the treaty presented to parliament, 201. the king removed from Carisbrook castle to Hurst castle, 202. votes of the commons thereupon, 203. another declaration of the army to the parliament, 204. their general marches for London, *ib.* the parliament vote that the king's answer was a ground for peace, 205. a contrary vote, 206. vote of no more addresses renewed, 207. votes of the commons about settling a form of government, 209. a committee appointed to prepare a charge of high treason against the king, 210. the prince of Wales desires the States of Holland to intercede with parliament, 211. their answer, 212. their ambassador not ad-

mitted by parliament to an audience before the king's death, 214. the queen's paper to the parliament laid aside, 213. the charge against the king approved by the commons, 214. rejected by the lords, 215. the commons constitute a high court of justice, 216. Bradshaw made lord president, 217. the king sent for from Hurst castle, 219. a plan for his escape not tried, 222, 223. he is brought to St. James's, 223. the several consultations among the officers before and after this time, what to do with him, 224. concluded to have him publicly tried, 227. the prince writes to Fairfax and the council of war, *ib.* the letter laid aside, 229. the king's usage at St. James's, *ib.* he is brought to Westminster-hall, 230. the sum of his charge, *ib.* what passed the first day of the trial, 231. disturbance in the court by lady Fairfax, 233. a summary passing over the rest of the trial, 235. the king's character, 236. his justice and mercy, *ib.* his devotion and religion, 237. his conjugal chastity, *ib.* not very bountiful, 238. kept state in his court, *ib.* patient in hearing causes, *ib.* fearless, but not enterprising, *ib.* not confident in his own judgment, *ib.* a great lover of the Scotch, 239. abhorred debauchery, *ib.* beloved by his subjects in general when he was murdered, 240. Warburton's observation on this point, *W. in loc.* the sum of his character, *vi.* 240. his funeral at Windsor, 241. why his body was not removed to

INDEX.

Westminster in the time of Charles II. 244. Warburton's remark hereupon, *W. in loc.* proclamation against proclaiming the prince of Wales king, vi. 245. how some neighbouring princes took the king's murder, 248. Cromwell when in Scotland supposed to have agreed with Argyle to keep him in perpetual imprisonment, 279. condition of his family after his death, vii. 84. his clemency towards the Roman catholics in Ireland, viii. 3. his gentle method against the rebels, 16. his good advice to the catholic commissioners, 22. (see Ireland, Parliament, and Scotland.) Bishop Warburton's observation on his ungracious manner, ii. 35. remarks that it was a trifling question which party struck the first stroke, 169. considers the ill success of his arms to be chiefly owing to prince Rupert, iii. 327. his observations on the king's overtures of peace, iv. 19, 53. considers his court to have been exceedingly tyrannical, 113. his opinion that the king should have marched to London instead of besieging Gloucester, 193. his view of the objects of the king and parliament, 327. thinks that the king might fairly employ the rebellious Irish, and why, 355, 362. and that his actions throughout, with respect to Ireland, were free from blame, although not in accordance with his professions, *ib.* his censures of his uxoriousness, 201, 365, 481, 507, 550. v. 193, 259. his observation as to his private virtues and public character, vi. 236, 240. his

remark on Clarendon's silence respecting the king's virtuoso character, 249. his remarks on several circumstances and censures of the king's conduct, *W.* i. 8, 205, 214, 224, 244, 246, 265, 450, 459, 475, 480, 491, 504. ii. 12, 23, 38, 60, 184, 202, 234, 242, 275, 287, 288, 313, 368, 437. iii. 149, 151, 158, 198, 199, 220, 291, 292, 299, 302, 413, 414. iv. 19, 22, 107, 125, 162, 164, 172, 222, 246, 261, 265, 309, 322, 327, 402, 471, 472, 481, 507, 511, 528, 586, 587, 590, 592. v. 1, 9, 30, 56, 61, 127, 139, 187, 193, 222, 250, 349, 387, 445, 484, 513, 548, 552. vi. 1, 132, 133, 158, 163, 164, 168, 175, 190, 236, 238. vii. 259.

Charles II. (as prince of Wales,) ii. 63, 270, 278, 281. iii. 157. v. 157, *n.* 159, 172, 173, 219, 266, 268, 271, 323, 369, *n.* 370, 523, 529. viii. 74, 75. (as king,) vi. 284, 323, 585. vii. 51, 54, 56, 64, 66, 68, 71, 79, 83, 90, 152, 192, 329, viii. 3. (as prince of Wales,) the earl of Newcastle his governor, ii. 180. whom the marquis of Hertford succeeds, 244. meets his father at Greenwich, notwithstanding an order of parliament, 262. an intention of parliament to remove him from the king by force, 273. appointed captain of a troop of horse for the defence of the king's person, 429. present at the battle of Edge-hill, iii. 280, 633, 636. was one of those that signed a letter to the earl of Essex, iv. 402. removes with the king from Oxford, 485. marquis of Hertford had an extraordinary devotion for him,

INDEX.

517. the king thinks it no longer safe and prudent for him and the prince to be together, v. 9, 82. the council appointed to attend him into the west, 11. made general of the king's forces, and of the western association, 87. removes to Bristol, 114, 123, 137, *n.* reasons why, 123, 134, 136, *n.* no preparations to receive him, 141. his proceedings there, 142, 146. summons the commissioners of the four associated western counties to Bridgewater, 151. himself diverted from business, and divisions caused in his councils by Mrs. Windham, 153, 154. sends three commissioners to Exeter to inquire into the complaints against sir R. Greenvil, 163. removes from Bristol to Barnstable, 188, 193. transactions there, 201. goes to Launceston, 209, 254. the king's letter to him, ordering him to retire into France whenever he might be in danger of falling into the rebels' hands, 231. France objected to by his council, 236. the king's answer persisting in France, 258. a design to petition him to send conditions of peace prevented, 240. a conference between lord Goring and one of his council, 242. refuses lord Goring's demands of being next in command to himself, &c. 237, 245. goes to Tavistock, 273. his intention of going to Totness, 274, 275, 282. the king's letter to him, recommending him to withdraw to Denmark, 276. his letter commanding him to retire abroad, and preferably to Denmark, 277. rea-

sons against his immediate departure, 278. which step his council decide against, 280. their decision approved of by the king, 317. state of his affairs in the west, 303. he commits sir R. Greenvil, refusing the command, to prison, 309. goes to Pendennis, 317. thence to Scilly, 320. the king's letter to him, enjoining him never to yield to any dishonourable conditions, not even to save his (the king's) life, 361. he removes to Jersey, 362. the queen's letter pressing his removal from Scilly, 363. a letter to him from the king, exhorting him to continue firm, 365. he is inclined to go to France, 366. the lords Capel and Colepepper sent to dissuade the queen from sending for him into France, 367. their instructions and arrival at Paris, *ib.* lord Digby goes to Jersey to persuade him to remove to Ireland, 372. thence he goes to France to gain the queen's consent to this measure, 375. where, being cajoled by cardinal Mazarine, he returns to Jersey to persuade the prince to remove into France, 376—379. debates in the prince's council concerning his going, 399. lord Capel's opinion against it, 400. the arguments of the lords Digby and Jermyon for it, 402. the prince resolves to go, 403. all his council, except lord Colepepper, dissent, and stay behind, 403. the prince's treatment and condition in France, 413, 554. he goes to Helvoetsluys to take the command of the fleet that had revolted from

I N D E X.

Rainsborough, vi. 23, 33. factions in his fleet, 33, 63. he comes into the Downs with his fleet, 36. an unsuccessful enterprise there, 67. thence into the Thames, 38. and takes several ships, 64. commissioners sent to him from the city with a petition, 65. he writes to the city, 66. he writes to the earl of Warwick, 69. his answer, *ib.* he went to sea towards Holland after having attempted to fight with the earl of Warwick, 70, 71. the earl follows him, 71. the prince comes to the Hague, 78. divisions in his court, 79. the letter of the parliament of Scotland to him, 83. deliberations in his council about it, 85. his and the duke of York's condition at the Hague, and the factions among their followers, 126. the ill condition of his fleet in Holland, 131, 133, 138. he has the small-pox, 135. he prevails with the States of Holland to intercede with the parliament for his father, 211. sends a letter to Fairfax, and the council of war on his behalf, 227. which was read and laid aside, 229. (as king) proclamation against proclaiming him king, 245. his condition at the Hague, 267. the States condole with him, 268. his new council sworn, *ib.* the queen's first message to him, 269. he thinks of going into Ireland, 270. proclaimed in Scotland, and commissioners sent from thence to him, 271. factions in his court with reference to Scotland, 283. circumstances that made his departure from Holland necessary, 297. he

delivers a memorial to the States, 300. deliberations respecting his movements, 306, 307. conference between lord Cottington and the chancellor of the exchequer concerning his sending an embassy to Spain, 310. he declares those two to be his ambassadors, 313. the chancellor of the exchequer appointed by him to make a declaration relating to England, 318. different opinions in his council about it when read, 321. upon which it was laid aside, 323. he removes to Breda, 330. thence to Antwerp, 331. thence to Brussels, *ib.* has an interview with the archduke near Valenciennes, 332. meets his mother at St. Germain, *ib.* unwilling that she should interfere in public affairs, *ib.* Mr. Elliot comes to him, 333. his influence over him, *ib.* Cromwell's arrival in Ireland delays his voyage there, 351. he removes to Jersey, 354. stays some months there, 377. account of the embassy he sent to Spain, 357, 378, 405, 440, 458, 464. he gives over all thought of going into Ireland in consequence of Cromwell's success there, 397. again invited to Scotland upon the old conditions through the marquis of Argyle, 398, 402. his answer, that he would have a treaty with them in Holland, 400. the queen advises him to agree to the terms, 401. he meets the queen at Beauvais, *ib.* meets the Scotch commissioners at Breda, *ib.* resolves for Scotland, 404. arguments of some against this step, *ib.* receives the news

INDEX.

relating to the marquis of Mountrose, 422. low condition of his party in England, 431. Argyle sends him new propositions, which miss him, 435. he arrives in Scotland, and takes the covenant, 436. Hamilton and Lauderdale depart from him, 437. Argyle receives him, *ib.* most of his English servants removed from him, *ib.* the Scotch clergy always about him, 438. their sermons before him, *ib.* the marquis of Argyle's behaviour to him, *ib.* his condition, 439. obtains more liberty through the Scots defeat by Cromwell, 456. his loss in the death of the prince of Orange, 470. believed in France to be dead, 476. state of his affairs in Scotland, 484. he withdraws to the Highlands, but returns the next day, 486. is better treated in consequence by Argyle, 487. a Scotch parliament summoned in his name, *ib.* which reconciles the lords, *ib.* an army raised, of which he is general, 488. his coronation, *ib.* in consequence of Cromwell's army gaining a pass in his rear, he marches forward into England, 490. Argyle dissuaded it, and stayed behind, 491. Lambert sent after the king, 493. Cromwell follows three days after, 494. Massey sent to precede the king, 495. a committee of ministers in his army ruin all, *ib.* the earl of Derby meets him in Lancashire, 496. Lambert follows, but is forced to retire, 497. at Warrington the earl of Derby leaves the king, and is sent back into Lancashire, *ib.* he summons Shrewsbury in vain,

499. well received at Worcester, *ib.* where he is proclaimed king, 500. favourable-ness of this post, 501. ill success of the earl of Derby, 502. the king's army not much increased by access of English, 506. his transactions at Worcester, 507. the ill disposition of his officers, 509. his defeat, 510. his retreat and concealment, 513. his foot driven prisoners to London, and sold to the plantations, 516. a price set on his head, *ib.* particulars of his escape, as the author had them from himself, 519, 543. meets captain Careless in a wood, who persuades him to get up into an oak, *ib.* thence he came to a cottage nine miles off, where he lay in a barn, 521. thence is conducted to another house twelve miles off, 522. thence to another, and so to others, 524. brought by Mr. Huddleston to lord Wilmot, *ib.* and to Mr. Lane's house, 526. goes to Mr. Norton's, near Bristol, riding behind Mrs. Lane, 528. passing under the name of William, 530. is known to the butler of the house, 531. goes to colonel Francis Windham's house, 533. thence is brought to an inn near Lyme, 535. the ship that was hired by captain Ellison failed, owing to an accident, and he leaves the inn, 536. he and lord Wilmot near being discovered by a smith shoeing their horses, 538. goes back to the colonel's house, *ib.* sends Wilmot for Robert Philips, 539. who conducts him to a place near Salisbury, 540. Dr. Hinchman conducts him

INDEX.

to Heale, Mrs. Hyde's house, 540. thence to a house near Brighthelmstone, 541. where a bark was provided by colonel Gunter, *ib.* he arrives in Normandy, in November, 541. and goes to Rouen, *ib.* the chancellor of the exchequer meets him at Paris by his order, 543. the marquis of Ormond, after appointing the marquis of Clanrickard his deputy in Ireland, waits upon the king at Paris, 554. his necessities at Paris, 557. appoints a new council, 561. refuses to make sir J. Berkeley master of the wards, 564. his conduct with respect to the duke of York's going into the French army, 566, 567. six thousand livres per month assigned him by the French court, 568. how the money was disposed that was sent him from Moscow and Poland, 569. invited to attend the Hugonot church at Charenton, 571. urged to it by lord Jermyn, 572. dissuaded by the chancellor of the exchequer, 573. refuses to go, 575. the requests to him from his friends in Scotland, 578. did not expect much from their exertions, 579. appoints the chancellor of the exchequer to make all the despatches for Scotland, *ib.* the marquis of Ormond's and the chancellor's opinion of his affairs at this time, 580. the chancellor desires him not to employ him in the Scottish affairs, *ib.* his reply, 581. the chancellor submits, 582. the king with his mother dwelt at the Louvre, 584. they remove to St. Germain's, 586. solicit-

ations for places in his court, 587. disapproves of the proposed marriage of the duke of York, 590. Mademoiselle thought of for the king, 592. the marquis of Ormond's and chancellor of the exchequer's exceptions against this match, *ib.* the king well inclined to it, 593. both these designs come to nothing, 594. offers to join the Dutch in their war with the English parliament, 602, 603. his proposal declined, 605. orders sir G. Carteret to surrender Jersey on conditions, 608. allows the marquis of Clanrickard to retire from his government of Ireland, 622. Cromwell prosecutes his party, vii. 26. his condition abroad, 49, 77. thinks of retreating out of France, but whither was the question, 50. makes Wilmot earl of Rochester, and sends him to the diet at Ratisbon, 52. sends a commission to the earl of Glencarne in Scotland, 53. who is unable to effect any thing, 54. quashes the designs of the Scotch presbyterians and of the Roman catholics against the chancellor of the exchequer, 61. his discourse with cardinal de Retz, 63. makes lord Herbert lord keeper of the great seal at his mother's desire, 67. refuses to reappoint Mr. Long secretary of state, 69, 70. acquits the chancellor of the exchequer of the charge of having conferred with Cromwell, 72. his avowal of his disinclination to business, and his exculpation of the chancellor from the charge of having used direspectful language against him, 76. reasons for his removal

INDEX.

into Germany, 80. a private supply of money sent to him from England, 81. receives all his arrears from France, 82. Stephen Fox appointed to manage his money, 89. lord Herbert resigns his office to him, 91. leaves the duke of Gloucester with the queen at her desire, *ib.* quits Paris, 95. a foolish project for his marriage, 96—98. his reception at Cambray, 99. passes through Flanders without being noticed by the archduke, *ib.* advises his friends in England to remain quiet, 102, 109. arrives at Spa, where he meets with the princess of Orange, 104. a small subsidy granted him by the diet in Germany, 105. improvement in his family expenses, 107. removes to Aken, *ib.* gives his signet to secretary Nicholas, 108. his reply to the chancellor of the exchequer's suggestion that he should return to the Highlands of Scotland, 110. removes to Cologne with his sister, by invitation of the citizens, 112. his way of life there, 119. entertained by the duke of Newburgh, 116. brings his sister to Santen, where they part, and he returns to Cologne, 119. sends for the duke of Gloucester from France, as his mother was attempting to make him a catholic, 122. his declaration as to the enforcement of the laws against the catholics, 128. an insurrection designed by some of his party in England, 129—134. he goes to Zealand to be ready, 135. the rising at Salisbury, 139. its failure, 142. ill success of the design in the north under the earl of Ro-

chester, 145. the king returns to Cologne, 148. his designs betrayed to Cromwell by Manning, 149. the risings of his party advantageous to Cromwell, 160. Cromwell's order for decimating the property of his party, 161. his declaration in justification, 162. the king caused an answer to be made to it, 165. he stayed at Cologne about two years, 167. goes into Flanders, and treats with the archduke, 182, 183. makes a treaty with Spain, 185. removes to Bruges in consequence, 186. state of his affairs in Flanders, 223. raises four regiments of his subjects there, 224. declines for the future the pension from France, 225. appoints sir H. Bennet his envoy to Madrid, 235. makes the chancellor of the exchequer lord chancellor, 236. transactions of his friends in England, 238. jealousies amongst them, 240. Mr. Stapley's engagement for him, 243. Mr. Mordaunt active for him, 244. the address of the anabaptists to him, 254. 255. their propositions annexed to it, 267. the letter sent to him by one individual with the address, 270. the result, 275, 276. his desire of joining the Spanish army refused, 277, 286. present in the attempt upon Mardyke, *ib.* leaves Bruges, and removes to Brussels, 277. retires to Hochstraten, 286. returns to Brussels upon hearing of Cromwell's death, 288. all cavaliers banished twenty miles from London, 320. his party begin to move after Cromwell's son had been put aside by the parliament, *ib.* their

INDEX.

designs, 322, 323. discovery of the treachery of sir Richard Willis, 324. the king removes to Calais, afterwards to the coast of Bretagne, to be ready to go over into England, 330, 336. disappointment of all the designs in his favour, 331. except the seizure of Chester by sir George Booth, 332. who is routed by Lambert, and Chester taken, 335. resolves to attend the conference between the Spanish and French favourites, 338, 345, 347. cardinal Mazarine advises against it, 346. begins his journey, 347. goes by mistake to Saragossa, 358. returns to Fuentarabia, 359. well received by don Lewis de Haro, 360. cardinal Mazarine would not see him, *ib.* returns to Brussels, 362. thoughts of persuading the king to turn catholic, in order to be restored by foreign catholic princes, 363. ill state of his affairs abroad, *ib.* lord Jermyn comes to him with compliments from the cardinal, 364. the affairs of England after the defeat of sir G. Booth, 366. his affairs more desperate upon the return of the parliament that had been interrupted by Lambert, 393. his condition at Brussels, 394. and the state of his affairs, 419. the council of state's kind behaviour to the king's friends after the dissolution of parliament, 425. Monk sends sir J. Greenvil to negotiate with the king, 443. his deliberations upon the terms proposed, 447. removes to Breda as Monk required, 445, 451, 453. the Spaniards' design to seize him discovered, 452. his letter to the general

and army, 454. and to the house of commons, 457. his declaration, 463. his letter to the house of lords, 465. and to the fleet, 466. and to the lord mayor and aldermen of London, 468. declaration of the king's party had great effect, 471. his letter and declaration joyfully received by parliament, 479. and by the city, army, and navy, 480. the answer of the house of commons to him, 481. extraordinary change in his favour, 486. is proclaimed king, 487, 488. many addresses to him, 489. Montague's message to him, 491. the marquis of Carracena invites him back to Brussels, 492. his answer, *ib.* invites him again, but in vain, *ib.* cardinal Mazarine persuades the queen-mother to send lord Jermyn to invite him into France, 493. his answer, 494. the States General congratulate his coming to Breda, and the States of Holland invite him to the Hague, 495. whither he goes, 496. his reception and entertainment there, 497. a committee of lords and commons wait on him there, to invite him to return to the throne, 499. also a deputation from the city, 500. and certain presbyterian divines, 501. their public audience, *ib.* and private discourses with him, 502. his reply to them, *ib.* embarks for England, 504. arrives at Dover, *ib.* goes through the city to Whitehall, 505. where the two houses waited on him, *ib.* (See Ireland, Parliament, and Scotland.) Bishop Warburton calls Charles II. the most hard-hearted monarch that ever

INDEX.

- was, *W.* v. 383. his censures of Charles's conduct towards lord Clarendon, *ib.* 412. vii. 95. his observations on other parts of his conduct, vi. 133, 405, 438. vii. 80. considers his resolution of not being governed by his mother almost the only good one he ever adhered to, vi. 269. considers his adherence to episcopacy to arise merely from political considerations, 401. his observation that Burnet's story of Charles having changed his religion before he left Paris, is confuted, vii. 129.
- Charles Louis, elector palatine (see Elector.)
- Chater, colonel, vi. 90.
- Chaucer, Geoffery, Donnington castle near Newbury, his house, iv. 237.
- Cherry, sir William, iii. 630.
- Cheshire, the condition of, at the end of 1642. iii. 447.
- Chester, the king very dutifully received there, iii. 259, *n.* his horse routed there by Pointz, v. 283. seized by sir G. Booth for Charles II. vii. 332. retaken by Lambert, 335.
- Chesterfield, Philip Stanhope, first earl of, under restraint for his loyalty, iv. 630.
- Chevreuse, duchess of, *W.* i. 68.
- Cheyne, Francis, v. 52. *W.* iv. 457. v. 52.
- Chichester possessed by the king's forces, iii. 415. surrendered to sir W. Waller, 416.
- Chichester, Arthur lord, i. 389.
- Chichester, earl of, (see lord Dunsmore.)
- Chigi, cardinal, chosen pope, and assumed the name of Alexander VII. vii. 124.
- Chillingworth, William, notice of his work against the church of Rome, i. 134. iv. 426. *n.* his death, *ib.* 457. *W.* iv. 457. notice of his activity at the siege of Gloucester, *W.* iv. 225.
- Cholmeley, or Cholmondley, sir Hugh, one of the northern members of the house of commons, i. 329, 418. ii. 16, 45. iii. 578. a fast friend to sir J. Hotham, ii. 397. revolts to the king, after having done great service to the parliament, iii. 446. iv. 137, *n.* had espoused that party, owing to his friendship with Hotham, *ib.* iii. 446.
- Cholmeley, sir Henry, ii. 398. one of the committee appointed by parliament to wait upon Charles II. at the Hague, vii. 499.
- Cholmondley, (see Cholmeley.)
- Christian IV. (see king of Denmark.)
- Christina, queen of Sweden, purchased the choice of the medals and jewels, and some pictures, that belonged to Charles I. vi. 249. received the parliament's agent with great joy and pomp, 249, 409. made an alliance with them, *ib.*
- Chudleigh, sir George, iii. 422. iv. 98, 101, 102.
- Chudleigh, James, major-general of the parliament forces in the west, iii. 431. iv. 96. *W.* iv. 104. his conduct at the battle of Stratton, iv. 100. accused by the earl of Stamford of betraying him, 102. goes over to the king in consequence, 103. some account of him, 103, 104, 322.
- Church of England, king Charles's attachment to, i. 144. hostile feeling entertained against it, for engrossing civil situations, 175. feeling of the leaders of the popular party towards the

INDEX.

- church, 409. assembly of divines in 1642. to reform the church, how appointed, ii. 423. character of most of its members, 424. (See Bishops, Episcopacy, and Clergy.)
- Churches, foreign, in England, notice of their origin, iii. 363. checked, 365.
- Church lands, bishop Warburton's opinion in favour of their alienation, *W.* v. 56.
- Chute forest in Hampshire given to Weston, earl of Portland, by Charles I. i. 90.
- Cirencester taken by prince Rupert, iii. 417. seized upon by the earl of Essex, iv. 231.
- Civil law, no reason for its having more connection with the church than common law, ii. 30.
- Clanmacnois, titular bishop of, viii. 155.
- Clanrickard, Ulrick de Burgh, marquis of, earl of St. Alban's, ii. 590. viii. 42, 66, 137, 185, 222, 229. notice of his character, vi. 553. viii. 43. a zealous Roman catholic, *ib.* removes the jealousies of the Irish, viii. 44. made general of the army by the lord lieutenant, 46. defection of Preston's officers, 47. the marquis reduced to great hardships, 48. the committee of the congregation of the prelates desire that he may be made lord lieutenant, 191. observations upon this demand, 193, 194. he is deputed by the lord lieutenant, vi. 553. viii. 199. is entreated to accept the government, viii. 201. condition of the Irish at that time, vi. 614. viii. 202. their behaviour to him, viii. 203. appoints a rendezvous, 204. resolves to fight Ireton, 205. appoints commissioners to confer with the duke of Lorrain's ambassador, 209. sends two gentlemen to treat further with the duke, 211. his letter to the duke, renouncing the treaty they made, viii. 213. vi. 618. Limerick and Galway disobedient to him, viii. 219. discovers a correspondence between the popish clergy and Ludlow, managed by a friar, vi. 621. he is unable to prevent this correspondence, viii. 220. sends the earl of Castlehaven to give an account of all to the king, vi. 622. the king sends him leave to retire, *ib.* his departure, viii. 231. goes into England, and dies within a year, vi. 623.
- Clare, John Holles, second earl of, one of the lords that signed the declaration, that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. joins the king at Oxford, iv. 193, 209. had been with him at York, and by his leave had gone to London, 206. notice of his character, *ib.* present at the siege of Gloucester, 211. and at the battle of Newbury, 262. allowed to attend the councils of war, *ib.* returns to London, 271, 332. how received by parliament, *ib.*
- Clarendon, earl of, (see Hyde.)
- Clarges, — vii. 378.
- Clark, — i. 66, 113.
- Clarke, sir William, killed in the fight at Cropredy bridge, iv. 504.
- Claypole, Mrs. her death, vii. 291.
- Clement IX. pope, (see J. Rospigliosi.)
- Clergy, high character of in the reign of Charles I. though

INDEX.

- somewhat indiscreet in their court sermons, i. 136, 137. animosity of certain great lawyers against the clergy, ii. 29. which produced great mischief, *ib.* how far the clergy brought it on themselves, *ib.* remarks on this feeling, 29—35. how the clergy were treated by the puritanical party, 425. the clergy on the side of parliament chiefly instrumental in infuriating the people against the king and his party, iii. 230. instances of their violence, 231.
- Clerk of the market of the king's household, an act of parliament, respecting, i. 501.
- Clerks, (see Six Clerks.)
- Cleve, duchy of, vii. 117.
- Cleve, duke of, vii. 117.
- Cleveland, Thomas Wentworth, earl of, one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632. notice of his character, 483. makes an unsuccessful attempt upon Abingdon, *ib.* his part in the fight at Cropredy-bridge, 500—503. taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester, vi. 515.
- Clobery,——appointed by Monk a commissioner to treat with the officers of the army at London, vii. 379.
- Clogher, Ever Mac Mahon, titular bishop of, appointed to command in Ulster after the death of O'Neal, viii. 145, 149. defeated and hanged by sir C. Coote, 146. vi. 548. his character, viii. 147.
- Clonfert, titular bishop of, viii. 158, 177, 192.
- Clotworthy, sir John, ii. 20. inveighs in parliament against the earl of Strafford, i. 301. committed to prison by the house of commons, vi. 208.
- Clubmen in Somerset and Dorsetshire, v. 197.
- Cobbet, colonel, sent by the committee of safety into Scotland to Monk, vii. 375. imprisoned by him, 377. taken prisoner when Lambert's party were dispersed, 431.
- Cobham, John Brook, lord, one of the lords that signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, vi. 633.
- Cobham, sir Richard Temple, lord, *W.* iii. 229.
- Cohogan, father, manages a correspondence between the popish Irish clergy and Ludlow, vi. 621.
- Coke, sir Edward, blasphemously called the duke of Buckingham our Saviour, i. 11.
- Coke, George, bishop of Hereford, one of the bishops who signed the petition and protestation respecting their constrained absence from the house of lords, ii. 116.
- Coke, sir John, secretary of state, his character, i. 113, 216. the odium of the failure of the Scotch expedition thrown upon him, 216, 222. removed from his post in consequence by the interest of the queen, in opposition to the earl of Strafford, 222.
- Colchester delivered up by Charles II.'s party to Fairfax, vi. 99.
- Colepepper, sir John, ii. 606, 494, *n.* iii. 592. iv. 222, 474. (as lord,) v. 143, 234, 236, 237, 241, *n.* 244, *n.* 268, 270, 271, 278, 318, 320. 324, 332, 360, 362, 363, 365, *W.* ii. 313. made chancellor of the exche-

INDEX.

quer, ii. 93, 140. his character, 94, 140. iii. 549. vi. 127. slanderously reported to be a Roman catholic, ii. 97. one of those styled by the rabble persons disaffected to the kingdom, 103, *n.* inclined through the king's imprudence to take no part in public affairs, 133. counselled the king, that the only way to preserve the church was to pass the bill against the bishops' votes, 247. *W. in loc.* one of the counsellors who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. one of those who carried the king's message for peace to parliament, 206, 208, 209, 621, 622. present at the battle of Edge-hill, 630, 634. dissuaded the king from drawing off the field, and hastening into the west, 634. made master of the rolls, 538. censured for being in favour of the siege of Gloucester, iv. 201, 260. his and the chancellor of the exchequer's business to think of expedients for providing money, 396, *n.* one of those appointed by the king to inquire into the charges brought against the duke of Hamilton, 433. and of those whom he consulted in his military affairs, 471, 526. Wilmot jealous of him, 473, 498, 527, 528. prince Rupert hostile to him, v. 1. vi. 63, 127. made a baron, to the offence of the court and army, v. 4, 38. the king confers most particularly with him, as to sending the prince of Wales away from himself, 9. named by him one of the prince's council, 11. one of the commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, 37. sent to

settle disputes at Taunton, 148. one of the commissioners to examine the allegations against sir R. Greenvil, 163 waits on the king to Brecknock, 230. his conversation with the chancellor of the exchequer as to the benefit the king might obtain by liberating the duke of Hamilton, 333, *n.* changed his opinion in favour of the prince of Wales's going to France, 366. sent with lord Capel to dissuade the queen from sending for the prince into France, 367. their success, 380. he alone of the privy-council accompanied him into France, 403. the king, upon hearing that it was Colepepper's advice that he should give up the church, said he had no religion, 412. attends the prince to the fleet, vi. 33. trusted by the queen to keep the prince firm in his dependence on the presbyterian party, 37. how concerned in the divisions in the prince's fleet, 80. his quarrel with prince Rupert respecting sir R. Walsh, 128—130. offended at not being appointed one of the ambassadors to Spain, 314, *n.* he and the chancellor of the exchequer had no great friendship for each other, *ib.* yet he could agree with no other man so well in business, *ib.* had been sent to Moscow to borrow money, 569, 570. bishop Warburton's observation on him, *W.* iv. 474, 529, 600. called by him one of the queen's creatures, vi. 80. Cologne, character of its inhabitants, vii. 112. was the staple for the wines of that country, *ib.* the elector's residence is at

INDEX.

- the castle of Bonne, about four miles from the city, 113. description of the city, *ib.* Charles II. fixed his abode here by invitation of the citizens, 114. where he remained about two years, 167.
- Cologne, elector of, his character, vii. 113, 120.
- Colvil, — i. 228, 229.
- Commissioners for treating with the Scots at Rippon, i. 274, 275. meet and transact, 275. commissioners of the four associated western counties meet the prince of Wales at Bridgewater, v. 151. result of their consultations, 152. commissioners of Devon complain of sir Richard Greenvil, 160. commissioners of Scotland protest against the four acts which the parliament sent to the king to pass, 507. their private treaty with the king at Hampton Court, 529. which was renewed and signed by him at the Isle of Wight, 530. substance of it, 532. commissioners sent from parliament into Scotland, vi. 15. commissioners sent to the prince of Wales from the city with a petition, 65. seven commissioners to govern the army appointed by parliament, vii. 370. Monk appoints three commissioners to treat with the committee of safety of the army at London, 379. Charles I.'s good advice to the catholic commissioners in Ireland, viii. 22. an assembly of the confederate catholics, in 1645, appoints commissioners for a new treaty, 25. commissioners sent to treat with the lord lieutenant, 76. their advice to him, 118. conference with the commissioners of trust, 123. the lord lieutenant's letter to the commissioners, 179. their answer, 181. commissioners of trust expostulate with the committee of the congregation of the prelates, 185. their answer, *ib.*
- Committee of state, in 1640, of whom composed, i. 263. a committee of both houses appointed to treat with the Scottish commissioners, 332. the committee appointed by parliament receive Charles I. from the Scots at Newark, v. 421. committee of the Scots parliament order Monroe to disband, vi. 93. committee of safety constituted by the army, vii. 374. their operations, 375—379. the committee of the lords and commons wait upon Charles II. at the Hague, 499. commissioners of trust in Ireland expostulate with the committee of the congregation of the prelates, viii. 185. their answer, *ib.* (see Parliament.)
- Common-Prayer, Book of, a bill for its disuse negatived in the house of commons, ii. 6. (see Liturgy.)
- Commons, house of, forty members required to make a house, ii. 9. (see Parliament.)
- Communion-table, disputes and differences arising from its removal from the body of the church, i. 168. archbishop Laud zealous for the alteration, 170. opposed chiefly by bishop Williams, *ib.* ordered by the house of commons, notwithstanding the dissent of the house of lords, to be again altered, ii. 78.
- Compton, James lord, afterwards third earl of Northampton, ii.

INDEX.

320. iii. 460. iv. 590. wounded at the battle on Hopton-heath, iii. 458. defeats some forces at Banbury, iv. 53. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, 632. present at the fight at Cropredy-bridge, 504. Banbury castle relieved by him, 580.
- Compton, sir Thomas, married the countess of Buckingham, i. 78.
- Compton, sir William, vi. 61. bravely defended Banbury, iv. 575.
- Con, — i. 263, 526. ii. 53.
- Condé, prince of, vi. 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, n. 583, 585, 594. vii. 96, 282, 283, 284, 285, 342. *W.* v. 348. appeased the sedition at Paris, vi. 353. one of a cabal against the court, 355. imprisoned, 376, n. 378. had won the battle of Rocroix, 387. marquis of Lusignon styled his ambassador at the Spanish court, 451, n. liberated, 583. visited Charles II. and his mother with many professions of civility, 584. his altered conduct, 586. the duke of Lorraine's retreat broke the neck of his design, 585. unsatisfied with the proceedings in Flanders, vii. 181. tells the Spaniards what steps Turenne would take at Dunkirk, 281. but not hearkened to, *ib.* one of the difficulties in the Spanish and French treaty relative to him, 343. how settled, 349 — 354.
- Coniers, or Conyers, sir John, ii. 2, 13, 458, 479. iv. 226. recommended by the house of commons to Charles I. for the lieutenancy of the Tower, ii. 172, 235. who consents to it, 236. had been lieutenant-general of the king's horse in his last preparation against the Scots, and governor of Berwick, iv. 226.
- Conti, prince of, imprisoned, vi. 376, n. 378. liberated, 583. Pezenas belonged to him, vii. 317. was governor of Languedoc, *ib.* anecdote of his conversation with Richard Cromwell, *ib.*
- Convocation, its sitting continued after the dissolution of parliament, i. 261. makes canons, *ib.* by which prejudice is excited against the whole body of the clergy, *ib.* its canons allowed by the council, 360. condemned by the house of commons, 361.
- Conwallis, sir Charles, vi. 466.
- Conway, Edward, first viscount, removed from the secretary's office, i. 113.
- Conway, Edward, second viscount, iv. 209, 374. general of the horse in the second expedition against the Scotch covenanters, i. 249. notice of him, 250. thought highly of by archbishop Laud, 251. shamefully routed at Newburn, 255. supposed to have been corrupted, 256, n. how far concerned in Mr. Waller's and Tomkins' design, iv. 60, 68, 77. left London, and resorted to the king at Oxford, 192. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, 632.
- Cony, — an eminent fanatic, vii. 294.
- Conyers, lord, (see lord Darcy.)
- Conyers, (see Coniers.)
- Cookein, captain, iv. 146.
- Cooper, sir Anthony Ashley, afterwards earl of Shaftsbury,

INDEX.

- vii. 389. notice of him, iv. 220. appointed governor of Weymouth after some demur, 220—225. joined the parliament in consequence of his removal from that post, 496. bishop Warburton's observation on his discharge, *W. in loc.* the command of the Tower intrusted to him and others by parliament, vii. 392. one of the committee sent by parliament to wait upon Charles II. at the Hague, 499. bishop Warburton's observation on his character, *W.* iv. 222.
- Coot, or Coote, sir Charles, defended Londonderry for the parliament, vi. 427. viii. 90, 107. defeated the bishop of Clogher, viii. 146, 149. and hanged him, *ib.* cruelly hanged Mr. Higgins, 169. sent to straiten Galway, 229. president of Connaught, vii. 475. favourably disposed towards Charles II. 476, 477.
- Cope, Isabel, countess of Holland, i. 111.
- Copley, colonel, defeats lord Digby at Sherborne, v. 293. as commissary-general imprisoned by parliament, vi. 208.
- Corbet, — vii. 476.
- Coriton, — one of the commissioners for the associated county of Cornwall, v. 152.
- Cork basely delivered up to Cromwell, vi. 397.
- Cork, Richard Boyle, first earl of, i. 385.
- Cork, titular bishop of, viii. 158.
- Coronation; form of the oath taken by the kings of England at their coronation, ii. 514. iii. 18. bishop Warburton observes, that as this oath is given to the public, the king and the public may dissolve it, *W.* v. 56.
- Cosins, John, afterwards bishop of Durham, forbid to officiate to the protestants in the queen's family at Paris, vi. 479, 480. the queen had some personal exceptions against him, 482.
- Costeloe, viscount, (see viscount Dillon of Costello.)
- Cotterell, colonel, his conduct as the parliamentary governor of Pontefract castle, vi. 111. colonel Morrice surprises the castle, 112—118.
- Cottington, sir Francis, afterwards lord, i. 392, 401. iv. 210. vi. 127, 309, 563. selected to attend prince Charles in his journey to Spain, i. 30. what situations he had filled, *ib.* his opinion against the journey, 31. the duke of Buckingham's behaviour to him in consequence, *ib.* his advocating the Spanish match the cause of Buckingham's avowed hostility to him, 58, 59. his reply to the duke's avowal, 59. how far afterwards reconciled, *ib.* chancellor of the exchequer, 174. thwarts archbishop Laud as a commissioner of the treasury, *ib.* and exposes his irascibility, 176, 178. opposes the king's making a park between Richmond and Hampton Court, 177. one of the committee of state during the king's expedition against Scotland, 263. why unpopular, 267. why he resigned the chancellorship of the exchequer, and the mastership of the wards, 370, 371, 405, 534, 460. ii. 93. recommended by the earl of Strafford for the lieutenancy of Ireland, 587.

I N D E X.

one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632. resident at Rouen, vi. 21, 22. had still the title of lord high treasurer of England, 22. proceeds to Dieppe, 23, *n.* after being captured and plundered, and after many attempts to go to the prince in the Downs, he joins him at the Hague on his return, 76—78. conference between him and the chancellor of the exchequer concerning the king's sending an embassy to Spain, 310. he and the chancellor appointed ambassadors through his management, 313. how provided with money for their embassy, 323, 324. they set out, 325. visit the duke of Lorraine at Brussels, 326. his dexterity prevails with the duke to furnish a loan, 327. they wait for the king's arrival at St. Germain's, 331. their reception there, 332. his ingenious method of dissuading the king from making colonel Windham secretary of state, 339. their departure from St. Germain's, 355. his conference with cardinal Mazarine, 356. they begin their journey for Spain, and arrive at Bourdeaux, 357, 358. their reception at St. Sebastian's, 359—361. their passes are sent to them, 362. they proceed on their journey, 363. their arrival at Madrid, 365. his interview with don Lewis de Haro, 368. they visit the toros, &c. 369. their interview with the king, 379. the king paid more attention to the chancellor than him, 380, *n.* they have a house assigned

them, 381. their private audience and demands, 383. the answer they receive, *ib.* ordered by Charles II. to stay where they were, 405. they acquaint the king of Spain with their master's resolution for Scotland, 406. his answer, 407. they expostulate with don Lewis about Ascham's coming to Spain as agent of the English parliament, 442. they write to him about Ascham's murder, 445. his answer, *ib.* they are desired by the king of Spain to be gone, 458. they apply to don Lewis, 459. the reason of their being required to depart in such haste, *ib.* his desire of remaining and dying in Spain, 460. reason of the discountenance he met with at the Spanish court, 461. had turned Roman catholic when formerly in Spain, and reverted to protestantism on his return to England, *ib.* reconciled again to the church of Rome, 463. they have audience of leave, 464. he is allowed to live at Valladolid, 464, 465. his death, 465. his character, *ib.* was of an incomparable temper, i. 60, 176. and of the most profound dissimulation, 176.

Cotton, sir Thomas, ii. 332. vi. 261.

Covenant, the Scottish, i. 197. a vow and covenant taken by both houses of parliament upon discovery of Mr. Waller's and Tomkins' design, iv. 71, 72. and throughout the city and army, 74. a covenant proposed by the Scots between the two kingdoms, and agreed to, 274. subscribed by the lords and commons, and their assembly of divines, 279. a

INDEX.

- copy of it, 280. ordered to be taken by others, especially by the city, 285.
- Covenanters, Scottish, (see Scotland.)
- Coventry, sir Thomas, afterwards first lord, i. 97, 268, 456. his character and rise, 80. his high reputation as keeper of the great seal, 81, 231, *W. in loc.* his death, i. 84, 231. Whitelock's contradictory statement, *W.* i. 82.
- Coventry, Thomas, second lord, one of the lords who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. sent into the western parts, 181. went beyond sea, iv. 630.
- Coventry and Litchfield, bishop of, (see Robert Wright.)
- Council; a great council of peers summoned to York, i. 260. ill consequences of the disrespect towards Charles I.'s council of state, iv. 301. a council settled for the prince of Wales, v. 11. council of officers, (see Army,) common-council, (see London.)
- Council-table, its powers enlarged, i. 121. lord keeper Finch's declaration in its favour, 131. prejudicial to it, *ib.*
- Counsellors, (see Privy-counsellors.)
- Countries; divers counties enter upon exercising the power of the militia, ii. 261. condition of the counties between Oxford and York at the close of 1642. iii. 452. the association of several counties formed under the earl of Manchester, iv. 464. state of the western counties when the prince of Wales took the command of them, v. 85, 135.
- Courage, observations respecting, iv. 620, 621.
- Court, state of, at the beginning of Charles I.'s reign, i. 15—17. a prospect of the court and the ministers after the duke of Buckingham's death, 80. no ladies as yet intermeddle in public affairs, *ib.* the state of affairs at court in 1640. 260. which was full of faction, 253; correspondence between the court and some officers of the army, 428, 464. (see Army.) court at Oxford, its state of scarcity and poverty in 1645. v. 84. court, very tyrannical in bishop Warburton's estimation, *W.* iv. 113. and abandoned, vi. 82.
- Courtney, sir William, v. 190.
- Crane, sir ——— iii. 252, 626.
- Cranfeild, Lionel, (see earl of Middlesex.)
- Craven, William lord, afterwards earl, v. 454. under restraint for his loyalty, iv. 630.
- Crawford, Ludovick Lindsay, fifteenth earl of, iv. 126, 130, 608. was of an inveterate hatred to the marquis of Hamilton, ii. 576. one of those who accused him of treason, iv. 628. taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester, vi. 576.
- Crawford, earl of, (see earl of Lindsay.)
- Creagh, John, mayor of Limerick, viii. 141.
- Creagh, Pierce, alderman of Limerick, viii. 141.
- Creed, major, vii. 371, 431.
- Crequy, duke of, vii. 286.
- Creswell, sergeant, iii. 407.
- Crew, ——— i. 483. ii. 452. one of the parliament commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 36. notice of him, 76. was in fa-

INDEX.

- vour of the self-denying ordinance, 90.
- Crisp, sir Nicholas, *W.* iv. 68. one of the citizens of London who resorted to the king at Oxford, iv. 63. notice of him, *ib.*
- Crofts, William, (afterwards lord,) ii. 187. vi. 69, 569. (as lord,) vii. 97.
- Cromwell, Henry, vii. 475. *W.* vii. 211, 292. made by his father lord lieutenant of Ireland, vii. 34, 211. very popular there, 104, 316. submits to the parliament, contrary to their expectations, and resigns his lieutenantancy, 315, 316. bishop Warburton calls him and his brother poltroons, *W.* vii. 316.
- Cromwell, Oliver, ii. 42. v. 15, 78, 140, 143, 169, 484, 485, 498, 499, 503, 506, 517, 532. vi. 7, 23, 32, 51, 73, 74, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 95, 104, 110, 118, 119, 120, 123, 124, 153, 158, 171, 193, 194, 214, 249, 273, 277, 283, 288, 291, 294, 310, 351, 398, 405, 451, 457, 458, 468, 470, 475, 478, 484, 487, 488, 497, 501, 502, 545, 546, 547, 609, 612. vii. 10, 58, 60, 70, 71, 77, 78, 80, 81, 84, 106, 132, 133, 141, 142, 148, 155, 156, 167, 175, 182, 184, 186, 189, 190, 230, 241, 242, 245, 250, 253, 276, 286, 290, 304, 305, 309, 312, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 324, 325, 326, 337, 341, 366, 367, 372, 378, 389, 395, 401, *n.* 429, 449, 471, 474. viii. 94, 95, 104, 107, 108, 113, *W.* iv. 24. v. 552. vii. 202, 366, 367, 406, 439. little taken notice of in parliament, 1641. ii. 42. his declaration that he would have left the country, if the remonstrance against the king had not passed the commons, 43. appointed to command the horse of the association of several counties under the earl of Manchester, iv. 465. wounded at the battle of Marston-moor, 510. charges the earl of Manchester with cowardice, v. 13. who charges him with designs against the parliament, 14. he and Vane and Ireton leaders of the independents, 16, 89, 345. his speech in favour of the self-denying ordinance, 23, 89. assures parliament that sir T. Fairfax was fully equal to be their general, 37. *W.* in *loc.* how he retains his commission notwithstanding the self-denying ordinance, v. 133. and new models the army, *ib.* commanded the right wing of the horse at the battle of Naseby, 183. observation on the discipline of his and Fairfax's troops, 185, *W.* in *loc.* takes Winchester and Basing, v. 337. his friendship with cardinal Mazarine, 414. vi. 248. vii. 80, 229. instigates the army against the parliament, v. 428. declared head of the army, 430. his behaviour at first in the mutinies of the army against parliament, 434. frustrates the parliament's intention of seizing him by returning to the army, 435, 436. appeared in the council of officers, 441. Fairfax entirely resigned himself to him, 445. his behaviour to the king, *ib.* the army wholly disposed to his designs, 454. the earl of Manchester particularly odious to him, 464. visits the king oftener at Hampton Court, 470. he and Ireton, who steered the whole council of offi-

cers, resolved never to trust the king, nor to do any thing towards his restoration, 484, 485, *W. in loc.* he and Ireton at least outwitted Ashburnham with respect to the king, v. 494, 501. whom he afterwards imprisoned, *ib.* fearful lest the agitators, by whose means he had effected his designs, should no longer be controlled by him, 504. suppresses a tumult of the levellers, 505. his speech against the king in parliament, on his refusing to pass four acts sent to him by parliament, 512. his meeting with his officers, wherein they design the king's destruction, 514. he made every thing, right or wrong, subservient to his ends, 543. observations on his conduct as subservient to his own ends, 545, *W. in loc.* was a great preacher, v. 554. got lord Lisle sent lord lieutenant into Ireland, vi. 3. opposes sir W. Waller's being appointed to succeed lord Lisle, 4. and proposes Lambert, *ib.* the marquis of Argyle makes a fast friendship with him and Vane, 8. foreseeing a war with Scotland, he nevertheless did not garrison Berwick or Carlisle, 51. owing to his perfect contempt for the Scotch, 52, *W. in loc.* advances against them, vi. 58, 59. leaving Ireton to watch Fairfax and the army in Kent, 62. defeats sir M. Langdale near Preston, 74. and routs duke Hamilton at Uxeter, 75, 76. marches into Scotland, 91. his declaration of his intentions, 92. is received at Edinburgh, 93. returns to England, leaving his friend Argyle to settle affairs, 94. endeavours

to prevent the parliament from repealing their votes of no more addresses to the king, 108, 153, *n.* reasons that obliged him to be present in parliament, and to leave the siege of Pontefract castle to Lambert, 109, 110, 152, *n.* his great loss in Rainsborough, 112. obliged to consent to the parliament's once more sending commissioners to the king, 153, *n.* the house of peers had little to do after his return from Scotland, 214. he long after endeavoured in vain to erect a new house of peers of his own creation, 215. placed much confidence in Harrison, who owed his rise to him, 220. outwitted Fairfax, and made use of him in compassing the king's death, 234. employed and contemned sir J. Danvers, 235. causes duke Hamilton's petition for his life to be rejected by the house of commons, 257. as also the earl of Holland's, *ib.* votes against lord Capel's similar petition, for the good of the commonwealth, 260. supposed to have agreed with Argyle when in Scotland to keep the king in perpetual imprisonment, 279. was to have been excepted in Charles II.'s proposed declaration, 322. made lord lieutenant of Ireland, 344, 346. how brought about, 347, 348. his hypocrisy as to this appointment, 348. provides forces for his going thither, 349. arrives at Dublin, 350. viii. 101. takes Drogheda by assault, viii. 102. Wexford betrayed to him, 105. why the marquis of Ormond did not fight his army, 111. is obliged to

INDEX.

raise the siege of Waterford, 112. and to draw off from Kilkenny, 121. takes Tredagh by storm, vi. 395. marches into Munster, 396. Cork betrayed to him, 397. the whole province submits to him, *ib.* France grew every day into a closer correspondence with him, 400. Christina queen of Sweden expressed a great esteem for him, 409. makes great use of the animosities amongst the Irish, 427. gives the Irish leave to transport themselves into any foreign prince's service, 428, 432. removed numbers to the most inland part of Connaught, 474. what use he had made of the levellers, 432. sent for by the parliament out of Ireland, leaves Ireton his deputy, 452, 546. made general upon Fairfax's resignation, *ib.* the Scots raise an army against him, 453. he enters Scotland, 454. the distress of his army, 455. entirely routs the Scots at Dunbar, *ib.* *W. in loc.* enters Edinburgh, vi. 456. endeavours to fight the king's army, 489. gains a pass and gets behind the king, 490. who thereupon marches into England, without his knowing it till a day afterwards, 491. his resolutions and counsels upon this news, 492. orders Lambert to follow the king with a body of the horse, 493. leaves Monk in Scotland, 493, 578. and follows the king three days after, 494. defeats him at Worcester, 510, 511. supposed by some to have corrupted Lesley the king's general, 514. an argument against it, 515. returned in triumph to London, and received with universal joy, 516. discountenances the presbyte-

rians from the time of his being chosen general, 554. causes several high courts of justice to be erected, 556. grieved and vexed at the escape of Middleton and Massey, 577. Saint-John his confident, 595. never zealous for the war with the Dutch, but governed in it by Saint-John, 607. bishop Warburton's observation on his conduct respecting this war, *W.* vii. 2. his successes abroad, vi. 608—614. his reason for keeping the better quarter with cardinal Mazarine, 611. Ireton by his obstinacy often prevailed over Cromwell, 612. and was so thorough a republican, that had he lived he would have opposed his schemes, 613. the parliament not so obedient to him as he expected, vii. 2. he erects another council of officers who expostulate with them about their dissolution, 3. he and they dissolve them, 6. his behaviour on this occasion, 7. his declaration to the people, *ib.* what would have been the consequence had not Cromwell now made himself a tyrant, 11. he and his council choose a new parliament, 12. calls them together by his own warrant, 13. and delivers them an instrument for their authority, 14. they deliver up their power to him, 17. he is made protector by his council, *ib.* and by Lambert's support, 366. installed according to an instrument of government, 18. takes an oath to observe it, *ib.* proclaimed, 19. entertained by the city, 20. his fleets twice victorious against the Dutch, 21, 23. his reception of the Dutch

I N D E X.

commissioners, 22. makes peace with them, 25. makes Portugal send an ambassador for peace, 26. prosecutes the king's party, *ib.* general discontents in the nation against him, *ib.* a high court of justice erected for the better establishment of his empire, to try persons accused of holding correspondence with Charles Stuart, 28. has the brother of the Portuguese ambassador beheaded for a murder, 31, 32. makes his son Henry lord lieutenant of Ireland, 34, 211. disputes among his own party, 34. especially the levellers, *ib.* calls a parliament after a new method, 35. substance of his speech to them, 36. chooses Lenthal their speaker, 37. his speech to them upon their questioning the validity of his government, 39. admits none into the house but such as subscribed an engagement to him, 40. dissolves them, 41. his conduct with respect to Wildman, 42, 43. and with respect to Lilburn, 45—48. his treaty with France, 49. his friendship coveted by Spain, 50, 100. falsely suspected of having poisoned the princess Elizabeth, 86. allows the duke of Gloucester to transport himself beyond sea, 87. state of affairs relating to him and his army, 100, 109. Lambert thought to be before him in the army's affections, 103. Monk had the absolute command of Scotland, and was his rival already, 104. manifestation of the general aversion to his government, 137. alarmed at the rising at Salisbury, 142. his proceedings after its failure, 144. all the king's designs be-

trayed to him by Manning, 149. his advantage by the risings of the king's party, 160. his order for decimating the property of the king's party, 161. his declaration in justification, 162. the decimation exceedingly lucrative, 165. this is denied by bishop Warburton, *W. in loc.* the king caused an answer to be made to the declaration, vii. 165. which obliged the nation to look upon Cromwell as a detestable enemy, who was to be removed by any way, *ib.* on this bishop Warburton observes that his assassination was projected and encouraged by the royal family, *W. vii.* 165, 301. the condition of Scotland under him, vii. 168. of Ireland, 169. of England, 171. sends out two great fleets, one under Pen, the other under Blake, 172, 173. their orders, 176. the marquis of Leyda sent ambassador by Spain to him, who after a month returns to Flanders, 174. bishop Warburton's observation on his policy in preferring an alliance with France to one with Spain, *W. in loc.* the fleet under Pen and Venables unsuccessful against Hispaniola, vii. 176. successful at Jamaica, 178. that under Blake prosperous against Algiers and Tunis, 179. unusually discomposed at the failure at Hispaniola, *ib.* commits Pen and Venables to the Tower, *ib.* sends recruits to Jamaica, 180. finishes his alliance with France, *ib.* disturbed with the divisions in his army, 187. constitutes his major-generals, *ib.* their power, 188. part of the Spanish West India fleet captured, 189. summons a parliament, 191. imposes a sub-

INDEX.

scription upon the members, 191. jealous of Lambert, 192. a proposition in parliament to make him king, 194. feelings of the different parties on this point, *ib.* Lambert and his party oppose this overture, and some of his own relations, 196. a committee appointed to confer with him upon it, 197. their audience with him, *ib.* what persons chiefly deterred him from accepting it, 202. he refuses it, 203. what would probably have been the consequence of his acceptance, *ib.* bishop Warburton's observation on his policy, *W.* vii. 205. is confirmed protector by the humble petition and advice of parliament, vii. 205. contents of the petition, 206. his speech on passing it, 207. his inauguration, 209. he adjourns his parliament, 210. his actions in the interim, *ib.* his daughters disposed of in marriage, 211. allows them, after the public ceremonies were performed, to be privately married according to the form in the Book of Common Prayer, 211, 212. success of his arms abroad, 212. his fleet victorious over the Spanish at Santa Cruz, *ib.* buries admiral Blake with great pomp, 215. addresses the parliament on its meeting again, 218. the house of commons readmit certain members that had been excluded, whereby many of his bitterest enemies sat again in the house, 218. he dissolves the parliament, as it was disposed to question his authority, having spoken to them in vain, 219, 220. turns Lambert out of the army, 221. abridges the

power of his major-generals, 222. acquaints the lord mayor &c. of the city with a plot of the cavaliers, and of the marquis of Ormond's being in England, 222, 243. apprehends several persons, 243. his severities towards them, 250, 253. what was supposed to have been promised him in his alliance with France, 249. John Lisle his entire confident and instrument, 246. finds new enemies amongst the sectaries, 254. Sexby had so great interest with him, that he was frequently his bedfellow, 278. a familiarity he often admitted those to, whom he employed in any great trust, *ib.* the French king takes Dunkirk, and delivers it into the hands of Lockhart, whom he appointed governor, 286. his affairs sometime before his death, 288. his domestic delights lessened every day, 291. his son Falconbridge's heart was set upon an interest destructive to his, and grew to hate him perfectly, *ib.* bishop Warburton's reasons for doubting this, *W.* vii. 211, 291. his daughter Claypole's death the source of great sorrow to him, vii. 291. is seized with an ague, 292. appoints his son Richard his successor and expires, *ib.* a terrible storm on the day of his death, *ib.* his character, 293. two instances of his interest among foreign princes, 297. conclusion of his character, 301. bishop Warburton's comparison of him with Julius Cæsar, *W.* vii. 296. Monk had remained firm to him, vii. 382. Mountague completely gained over by him,

INDEX.

434. the parliament of 1660. begin their proceedings with invectives against him, 478. anecdotes of Cromwell's guiding Ingoldsby's pen in signing the death warrant of Charles I. 490. called by bishop Warburton an idle story, and why, *W. in loc.*
- Cromwell, Richard, *W.* vii. 429. made a privy counsellor by the protector, and chancellor of the university of Oxford, having lived retired before, vii. 210. appointed by the protector to be his successor, 292. quiet beginning of his government, 303. calls a parliament, 305. differences in it, 306. a new council of officers meet, who consult about the government, 307. their address to him, 308. seconded by the city militia, 309. votes of the parliament upon it, *ib.* the officers advise him to dissolve the parliament, *ib.* advice to him to the contrary, 310. he issues out a proclamation to that purpose, 311. whereupon he was no longer regarded as protector, *ib.* his assent to the question from parliament, whether he submitted to their authority, 315. after Charles's restoration he is obliged to go abroad on account of his debts, 316. anecdote of his visit to the prince of Conti, 317. he and his brother Harry called by bishop Warburton, poltroons, *W.* vii. 316.
- Cromwell, Mary, married viscount Falconbridge, vii. 211. intercedes in vain with her father to save Dr. Hewet's life, 253.
- Cromwell, Thomas, fourth lord, earl of Ardglass in Ireland, one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632.
- Crook, justice, i. 523.
- Cropredy-bridge, fight at, iv. 500.
- Crown, jewels of the, the parliament's order against pawning them, iii. 46.
- Cumberland, Henry Clifford, last earl of, one of the lords who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 71, 572. invested by the king with the command in Yorkshire at the request of the gentry, 184, 619. his character, 185, 440. iv. 518. one of those excepted against by parliament from being included in any conditions of peace, iii. 239. offers to give up the command in Yorkshire to the earl of Newcastle, 441.
- Cunningham, ——— iv. 436.
- ## D
- Dacres, lord, one of the few peers who attended parliament at the end of 1643. iv. 403, 630.
- Dalbeer, ——— dissuaded the earl of Essex from pursuing the king after the battle of Edgehill, *W.* iii. 299. the earl of Holland chiefly depended on him in his rising at Kingston, vi. 96. killed at St. Neot's, 98.
- Dalkeith, lady, (Agnes Keith) afterwards countess of Morton, v. 158, n. governess to princess Henrietta, iv. 525. carried her secretly into France to the queen, v. 471, n. vii. 84.
- Danby, Henry Danvers, earl of, vi. 235.
- Danvers, sir John, notice of, vi. 235.
- Darcy and Conyers, Conyers lord,

INDEX.

- one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, vi. 632.
- Darcy, Marmaduke, vii. 138, 145.
- Darmstadt, (see Hesse Darmstadt.)
- Dartmouth taken by prince Maurice, iv. 322.
- Davenant, sir William, sent from the queen to Charles I. to persuade him to give up the church, v. 411. rebuked by Charles for speaking slightly of the church, 412. styled by bishop Warburton a poet and a debauchee, *W.* v. 411.
- Dausk, captain, iv. 387, 388.
- Dean, admiral, *W.* vii. 217. originally a common mariner, appointed with two others to the command of a fleet by Cromwell, vii. 21. killed in an engagement with the Dutch, 22.
- Debates in the council at Oxford, how the lords who went over from the parliament to the king should be received, iv. 197. in the prince of Wales's council concerning his going to France, v. 399.
- Declaration of some ministers against the government of the church by bishops, i. 356. of the commons touching their five members accused of treason by the king, ii. 156. of both houses of parliament to the king respecting the causes of their fears and jealousies, 274. his answer, 287. his declaration from York, March, 9, 1641. 302. his answer to the parliament's declaration and votes concerning Hull, 389. the declaration of the two houses about the militia, May 5, 1642. 404. the king's declaration in answer, 409. the two houses' declaration concerning a reformation of the liturgy, 421. the declaration or remonstrance of the lords and commons, May 19, 1642. 448. and May 26. 504. the king's answer to that of May 19. 538. and to that of May 26. iii. 1. his declaration to the lords attending him at York, June 13. 69. his declaration of June 15. disavowing any intention of war, 70. the declaration of the lords and counsellors to the same effect, 71. the king's declaration thereupon, 72. the parliament's declaration to the city upon a letter from the king to the lord mayor and aldermen, 93. the king's reply, 94. the two houses' declaration to the kingdom, 215. and to the subjects of Scotland, 305. the king's message to the privy council of Scotland upon occasion of this declaration, 344. the two houses' declaration concerning their general's acceptable service, 335. the substance of their declaration to the states general of the United Provinces, 354. the king's declaration upon occasion of the former ordinance of the militia, 374. and after his victories over lord Fairfax in the north, sir W. Waller in the west, and the taking of Bristol, iv. 156. an extract of the declaration of the kingdom of Scotland, 404. and of England and Scotland, 407. the substance of the declaration of the lords and commons at Oxford, 419. the parliament's declaration upon the resolutions of the council of officers, v. 433. afterwards rased out of their books, 434. parlia-

INDEX.

- ment's vote of no more addresses seconded by a declaration, 515. Mr. Maynard's argument against it, 516. its effects on the minds of the people, 518. the declaration of the army about changing the frame of government, vi. 182. another of the army sent to the house of commons, 204. declaration of the marquis of Mountrose in Scotland, 412. of the Irish Roman catholic bishops, viii. 160, 161, 171. Cromwell's declaration to justify his decimating the property of the king's party, vii. 162. a declaration of the council of officers to restore the long parliament, May 6, 1659. 312. the declaration of sir G. Booth and sir T. Middleton, who had seized on Chester for Charles II. 332. Charles II.'s declaration sent with his letter to the house of commons, 462. declaration of the king's party at this time, which had great effect, 471.
- Deering, sir Edward, ii. 474. brings in a bill into the house of commons for extirpating bishops, deans, and chapters, &c. i. 416. which is laid by, 418. revived and committed, 482. laid aside, 484.
- Deincourt, or Dencourt, Francis Leake, lord, afterwards earl of Scarsdale, anecdote of an application made to him for money for the king, iii. 247—250. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 633.
- Denbigh, William Fielding, first earl of, served as a volunteer at the battle of Edge-hill, iii. 272. died in consequence of the wounds he received at Bromicham, iv. 32.
- Denbigh, second earl of, (see lord Fielding.)
- Denmark, Christian IV. king of, vi. 410.
- Denmark, Frederick III. king of, favourably disposed to Charles II.'s cause, vi. 409. why unable to give him much pecuniary aid, 410. not so much esteemed, because not so much feared as his father, *ib.*
- Denny, lord, i. 109.
- Denny, Honora, married viscount Doncaster, afterwards earl of Carlisle, i. 109.
- Derby, seventh earl of, (see lord Strange.)
- Derby, (Charlotte de la Tremouille,) countess of, vi. 517.
- Desborough, — vi. 539, 540. opposed Cromwell's being made a king, vii. 196. tells Richard Cromwell that he could not have both the parliament and the army his friends, and therefore he must choose which he would have, 310. appointed commissary-general of the horse by the officers of the army, 372. one of the committee of safety constituted by the army, 375.
- Deserters, observations respecting, iv. 335.
- Design discovered at London, by which Mr. Waller, Mr. Tomkins, and others meant to benefit the king, iv. 57. the real project, 61. a vow and covenant taken by parliament on its discovery, 71, 72. and throughout the city and army, 74. Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Chaloner executed, 75. the design not carried on also at Oxford, as pretended, *ib.*

INDEX.

Devizes besieged by sir W. Waller, iv. 129.

Devonshire, Mountjoy, earl of, i. 110.

Devonshire, William Cavendish, third earl of, one of the lords who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 71. 571. and of those who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632.

De Wit, John, pensioner of Holland, and of the greatest influence in the public counsels, vi. 604. an avowed enemy to the prince of Orange, *ib.* his advice against Charles II.'s joining the Dutch in their war with Cromwell, *ib.* bishop Warburton's observation on it. *W. in loc.*

D'Ews, lieutenant-colonel, killed at Reading, iv. 27.

Differences arise between the parliament and the army, v. 428.

Digby, George lord, afterwards second earl of Bristol, i. 329. ii. 93, n. 128, 136, n. iii. 234, 235, 628. iv. 529. v. 9, 172, 299, (as earl of Bristol) vii. 96. 277. viii. 71. *W.* i. 405. ii. 99, 100, iv. 570. opposes the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford, though not his friend, i. 406. much trusted by the king, ii. 99. his character, 99, 101. iv. 474. v. 371. *W. in loc.* notice of his going over to the court party, ii. 100. instrumental in promoting lord Falkland, sir John Colepepper, and Mr. Hyde to the king's favour, *ib.* his ill advice enables the violent party in the commons to recover themselves, when they had nearly ruined

their own cause, 122. advises the king to accuse certain members of parliament of treason, 128, 129. his conduct on the occasion, 129. advises the king to go to the city after them, where they had taken refuge, 129, 130. his offer to seize them himself, 130. all the king's imprudent measures as to these members imputed to him, 162. the most universally odious man in the kingdom, *ib.* accused of high treason by the house of commons upon pretence of his levying war at Kingston, though he had retired abroad, 171. certain of his letters opened by the commons, 256. expressions against the parliament in them, 257. mention respecting him in several communications between the king and the parliament, 277, 307, 317, 388, 481, 482, 521, 524, 530, 560, 565. iii. 409. particulars of his return to England in disguise, of his capture and escape through sir John Hotham's connivance, iii. 160, 591, 609. persuades sir John to favour the king's cause, 166, 600. his feeling towards his father, 546. *W. in loc.* wounded at the siege of Litchfield cathedral, iv. 35. his purpose in being of this party was to pay court to the queen, *W. in loc.* his fortunate escape from an accident, iv. 233. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, 632. one of those appointed to examine into the charges brought against the duke Hamilton, 433. is much consulted by the king on

I N D E X.

military affairs, (being now secretary of state,) 471, 526. his ascendancy over sir John Colepepper, 474. *W. in loc.* lord Wilmot's hostility to him, iv. 473, 498, 527, 528. whose arrest was owing to him according to bishop Warburton, *W. iv.* 532. prince Rupert his great enemy, v. 1. his and Goring's motives in becoming friends, 10. the king given to understand, that the parliament would not treat if he was one of the commissioners, 31. *W. in loc.* furthers the project of the earl of Antrim's transporting troops from Ireland, and joining the earl of Mountrose in Scotland, v. 96, 101, 102, 104, 105, 109. was the principal cause of the king's revoking prince Rupert's commission, having the chief influence on the king's councils, 287. advises that the king should retire to Newark, 289, 291. charged by bishop Warburton with being the cause of the king's irresolution about this time, *W. v.* 246. and contrives to get himself appointed lieutenant-general of all the forces raised north of the Trent, v. 291, 292. marches to Doncaster, 292. routed at Sherborne, 293. observations on this circumstance, 294. after his enterprises and disbanding in Scotland, went into Ireland, 370. arrives at Jersey from thence, 372. and tries to persuade the prince of Wales to go into Ireland, 373, 374. thence goes into France to persuade the queen to approve of this step, rather than of the prince's going into France, 375. his

transactions there with the queen and cardinal Mazarine, *ib.* which alter his views, and he returns to Jersey to persuade the prince to go into France, 379, 382, 398, 400. his arguments for this step, 402. Charles II. partly estranged from him, by Mr. Elliot, vi. 334, 335. against whom he had prejudiced Charles I. 337. (as earl of Bristol) serves as a lieutenant-general in the French army, vii. 96. ordered to leave France, 230. comes to Bruges to the king, 231. don Juan exceedingly prejudiced against him, *ib.* ingratiates himself with him notwithstanding, 232. instrumental in recovering St. Ghislain to the Spaniards, 233. persuades the chancellor of the exchequer to accept the great seal, 237. attends the king to Calais, 330. and afterwards to Fuentarabia, 347, 348. persuades him to turn aside into Spain, 358. at Fuentarabia he removes all don Lewis de Haro's prejudice against him, who takes him to Madrid to be received into the Spanish service, 361. resigns the signet, on turning a Roman catholic, 454. bishop Warburton's observation on the manner in which lord Clarendon has drawn the character of this his mortal enemy, *W. i.* 5. v. 371. vii. 348. Digby, colonel, afterwards general sir John, iii. 201, 226. iv. 169. v. 303, 304. vi. 118, 119, 124, 126. as sheriff of Nottinghamshire collects forces for the king, iii. 194, 199. commanded the horse at the battle of Stratton, iv. 99. routs

I N D E X.

- the parliament's forces at Torrington, 216—218. Barnstable and Bedford yielded to him, 219. appears before Plymouth, 315, 320. where he is joined by prince Maurice, 323. who afterwards left him to block up the town, 569. v. 204, n. 255, 256, 273. where he is dangerously wounded, iv. 570. v. 214.
- Digby, Kenelm, the eldest son of sir Kenelm, killed at St. Neot's, vi. 98.
- Dillon, sir Lucas, viii. 35, 140, 192.
- Dillon, Thomas, viscount of Costello, or Costeloe, iii. 472, 473, 474. viii. 93.
- Discontents in the nation, 1654. vii. 26.
- Dives, sir Lewis, ii. 123, 382, n. v. 209. wounded in a rencounter near Worcester, iii. 235, 236, 625. unable to retain Newport Pannel, iv. 314, 315. made commander in chief of Dorsetshire, 575. surprises Weymouth, v. 67, 68, 138. able to keep the rebels out of a small part of the country only, 139.
- Divisions in the parliament, 1644. v. 12.
- Doddington, sir Francis, iv. 544.
- Doleman, — iv. 582, 586.
- Doncaster, viscount, (see earl of Carlisle.)
- Donnington castle, once the residence of Chaucer, v. 237. garrisoned by colonel Boys, *ib.* relieved from a siege by the king, 578, 579.
- Dorchester surrendered to the king's forces, iv. 213.
- Dorchester, marquis of, (see viscount Newark.)
- Dorchester, viscount, (see sir D. Carleton.)
- Dorislaus, — LL. D. an agent of the parliament killed at the Hague by some Scottish men, vi. 297, 421.
- Dorset, Richard Sackville, third earl of i. 107.
- Dorset, Edward Sackville, fourth earl of, ii. 85. iii. 622, 262, 628, 287, n. his character, i. 106, 107. killed lord Bruce in a duel, *ib.* one of the lords who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 71, 571. one of those that carried the king's message for peace to the parliament, 206, 621. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632.
- Dorset, fifth earl of, (see lord Buckhurst.)
- Dorset, Mary Curzon, countess of, i. 106. three of Charles I.'s children intrusted to her care by him, v. 453, 471, n.
- Dort, synod of, observation upon, i. 114.
- Doucet, — employed to aid the king's attempt at an escape from the Isle of Wight, vi. 195—197.
- Dover, Henry Carey, first earl of, one of the lords who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. served as a volunteer at the battle of Edge-hill, 272. one of those who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632.
- Dover, earl of, (see viscount Rochford.)
- Douglass, sir Joseph, vi. 270.
- Downing, Dr. one of the parliament chaplains, iii. 339. *W.* in *loc.* (see Marshall.)
- Drake, sir Francis, his estates in Devon granted by the

I N D E X.

- king to sir R. Greenvil, v. 214, 220.
- Drogheda taken by lord Inchiquin, viii. 50. Jones obliged by the marquis of Ormond to retire from besieging it, 101. taken by Cromwell, 102.
- Dromore, Fr. Oliver, titular bishop of, viii. 154, 157, 159, 192.
- Dublin, reasons for putting it into the hands of the English rather than the Irish, viii. 50. the marquis of Ormond constrained to deliver it up to the English rebels, 57. vindication of this step, 58. Dublin blocked up by the marquis, vi. 344. viii. 88. his army beat in a sally, vi. 345, 350. he retires before Cromwell's arrival, 350.
- Dublin, Launcelot Bulkeley, archbishop of, iv. 393.
- Dublin, Thomas, titular archbishop of, viii. 151.
- Dunbar, Cromwell entirely routs the Scots there, vi. 455.
- Dunbar, Henry Constable, first earl of, king James's first Scotch favourite, instrumental to the rise of archbishop Abbot, i. 156.
- Duncomb, colonel, iii. 437.
- Dundalk taken by lord Inchiquin, viii. 92.
- Dunkirk besieged by the French army, vii. 280. the Spanish under don Juan defeated by marshal Turenne, 283. the town surrendered to the French, 286. the French king delivers it to the English, *ib.*
- Dunsmore, Francis Leigh, afterwards earl of Chichester, one of the commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, i. 274. one of the lords who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. notice of his character, 547. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 633. (as earl of Chichester) one of the king's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 37. notice of his creation as an earl, 38.
- Dunstar castle taken by the marquis of Hertford, iv. 110.
- Duppa, Brian, bishop of Salisbury, v. 201, *n.* 202, *n.* 259. tutor to the prince of Wales, (Charles II.) 231. 259.
- Duresme (Durham) bishop of, (see T. Moreton.)
- Dusseldorp, vii. 115, 116, 117.
- Dutch war, (see Holland.)
- E.
- Earl, sir Walter, i. 347, *n.* iii. 202. iv. 213.
- Earles, Dr. vi. 37. vii. 150.
- Earnly, sir Michael, governor of Shrewsbury, killed when the town was betrayed to the parliament, v. 67.
- Echard, Laurence, *W.* vii. 202.
- Edgecomb, — v. 315.
- Edge-hill, or Keinton, particulars of the battle of, iii. 273, 630.
- Edinburgh, bishopric of, erected by Charles I. i. 152. disliked by the people, 154.
- Edinburgh, bishop of, (see W. Forbes.)
- Edward the confessor, iii. 18.
- Edward III. i. 395, ii. 395, 469, 513, 514, 527, 528. iii. 16, 28, 31, 147, 353. iv. 338. vi. 161.
- Edward IV. i. 462. iii. 36.
- Edward VI. i. 393, 397. iii. 363.
- Elector palatine, Charles Louis, nephew of Charles I. ii. 383, 385. well received in London by the parliament, iv. 441, 442. what hopes he entertained according to bishop Warburton, *W. in loc. W.* vii. 120. notice of his former visit to

INDEX.

- England, and abrupt departure, iv. 441. did not contribute to the subsidy granted to Charles II. by the diet in Germany, vii. 106. nor notice him whilst resident at Cologne, 120.
- Elizabeth, queen, i. 5, 96, 298, 312, 315, 396, 420, 496, ii. 305, 417. iii. 12, 363, 516, 552. vi. 144, 253. the felicity of the times before the long parliament of Charles compared with her reign, i. 131. Warburton's comment, *W.* i. 132. Mary queen of Scots' death an unparalleled act of blood, i. 132.
- Elizabeth, princess, daughter of Charles I. notice of, v. 473. her father's advice to her, *ib.* committed by the parliament to the care of the countess of Leicester, vii. 85. and afterwards to captain Mildmay, at Carisbrook castle, 86. where she died, *ib.* the report of Cromwell's having her poisoned false, *ib.*
- Elliot, Thomas, vii. 335, 337. sent by Charles I. to carry the great seal from lord Littleton to York, ii. 489, *n.* 500. his own account of the matter, 490, *n.* 504. aids in the arrest of lord Wilmot, iv. 529. joins Charles II. at the Hague, vi. 333. his influence over him, *ib.* instigates him against the earl of Bristol and lord Digby, 334, 335.
- Ellison, ——— aids in the escape of Charles II. after the battle of Worcester, vi. 534.
- Ely, viscount, (see Loftus.)
- Ely, bishop of, (see Matthew Wren.)
- Emly, titular bishop of, tries to prevent the surrender of Lime- rick to Ireton, viii. 223. is hanged, 226.
- Emperor of Germany, Ferdinand II. i. 37, 58.
- Emperor of Germany, Ferdinand III. vi. 375, *n.* vii. 50. did not contribute to the subsidy granted by the diet in Germany to Charles II. vii. 106.
- England, (see Charles I. Charles II. Cromwell, and Parliament.)
- Episcopacy, Pym, Burton, and Bastwick its most notorious opponents, i. 166. declaration and petition in parliament against episcopacy, 356. a bill brought into the commons for extirpating bishops, deans, and chapters, i. 416, 536. laid by, 418. revived and committed, 482. again laid aside 484. a new bill brought into parliament to take away bishops' votes, ii. 24, 82, 103, *n.* episcopacy abolished in Scotland, 36. petition of apprentices against prelates, 83. expedients of the commons for procuring the assent of the lords to the abolition of episcopacy, iii. 401, 402, 498. a covenant for the extirpation of prelacy proposed by the Scots between the two nations, and agreed to, iv. 274—280. copy of it, 280. ordered to be generally taken, 285, 338. it's passing the parliament chiefly owing to sir H. Vane the younger, 291. Charles II.'s adherence to episcopacy considered by bishop Warburton to arise entirely from political considerations, *W.* vi. 401. divine right of episcopacy, bishop Warburton's opinion against, *W.* v. 56. vi. 168.
- Erasmus, iii. 232.
- Erskin, sir Charles, one of the parliament's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 37.
- Espernon, duke of, vi. 359, *n.* *W.* i. 68. complaints and pro-

INDEX.

ceedings against, by the city of Bourdeaux, where he was governor, vi. 357, 358.

Essex, colonel Charles, iii. 202. notice of, 290, 293, 297.

Essex, sir William, iii. 293.

Essex, Robert Devereux, third earl of, i. 217, 372, 486, 487. ii. 18, 579, 73, 606, 272. iii. 127, 156, 157, 173, 179, 618, 188, *n.* 189, 211, 226, 234, 242, 625, 626, 627, 628, 262, 268, 269, 277, 279, 284, 636, 288, 289, 290, 299, 300, 301, 302, 318, 319, *n.* 321, 325, 331, 335, 340, 374, 382, 384, 394, 415, 418, 439, 442, 452, 453, 454, 466, 468, 471, 472, 484, 491, 519, 537, 556, and *n.* iv. 20, 27, 30, 41, and *n.* 44, 50, 80, 82, 87, 94, 95, 106, 114, 132, 139, 182, 185, 202, 209, 228, 253, 259, 272, 276, 279, 289, 619, 345, 397, *n.* 399, 403, 629, 411, 412, 413, 420, 440, 455, 458, 465, 474, 475, and *n.* 476, 494, 496, 499, 507, 511, *n.* 522, 524, 527, *n.* 528, 529, 536, 539, 540, 541, 543, 544, 559, 560, 561, 562, 573, 575, 576, 582, 584. v. 14, 18, 26, 27, 63, 68, 69, 72, 75, 78, 84, 89, 90, 121, 122, 130, 151, 185. made lieutenant-general of the army against the Scotch covenanters, i. 201. takes possession of Berwick, 203, 509. the covenanters' letter to him, 211, 212. how received, 212. merited well in this expedition, yet slighted by the king, 220. not employed in the second expedition, 248, 249. why it would have been better if he had, 248, 249, *n.* an enemy to the earl of Strafford, and why, 249, 266. one of the commissioners to treat with the Scots

at Rippon, 274, 275. why won over by the puritans, 321. sworn a privy counsellor, 341. one of the governing voices in the house of lords, 347, *n.* how far trusted there, 348, *n.* not hostile to the church at large, 409. yet in favour of taking away from the bishops their temporal power and privileges, 410. Mr. Hyde in vain endeavours to persuade him that the earl of Strafford was not guilty of treason, 425. made lord chamberlain, 461. why he ought to have been appointed general to disband the army, 478. ii. 596. bishop Warburton charges the queen of being the cause of his not being appointed, *W. in loc.* made lieutenant-general south of the Trent during the king's visit to Scotland, i. 489. one of the committee of the house of lords appointed to sit during the recess, ii. 9. appoints a guard for the security of the parliament, 19, 578. was trusted with the earl of St. Alban's proxy, and often voted one way himself, giving the proxy the other way, as he knew it was the mind of him who trusted him, 590. resigns his commission as general on this side Trent, 63. though lord chamberlain, he is dissuaded by the earl of Holland from attending the king when he removed to Hampton-court, 163, 610. reason of his enmity to the earl of Newcastle, 243. desired that the proceedings of parliament should be more moderate 326. his deprivation of the office of lord chamberlain for refusing to attend the king at York, 332, 611. one chief

INDEX.

cause of the future miseries, and why, 330, 613. appointed general of the parliament's forces, iii. 122. his object in accepting the command, 558. declared a traitor by the king, 610. joins the army at Northampton, 213, 217, 222. moves with it from thence, 233. his instructions from parliament, 238. his house and park at Chartley ordered by the king not to be touched by his troops, 252, *n.* marches after the king, 271. the battle of Keinton, or Edge-hill, 273, 630. vindicated from the aspersion of allowing the wounded earl of Lindsey to die through a grudge, 285, 288, *n.* retires to Warwick castle, 294. condition of his army after the battle, 298. marches towards London, 322, 327. opposes the king's army at Brentford, which retires, 329, 330. the declaration of parliament concerning his acceptable service, 335. fixes his head quarters at Windsor, 384. the marquis of Hertford his particular friend, having married his sister, 540. his character, 557. besieges Reading, iv. 22, 49, *n.* which is surrendered on articles, 38, 39. the probable result, had he thereupon marched to Oxford, 48. his conduct at Reading not satisfactory to his party, 49, *n.* 50. his army impaired by sickness, 50, 79, and *n.* marches to Thame, 80. his horse beaten by prince Rupert, 83. cause of the enmity between him and sir W. Waller, 136. the parliament let him discern that they had another general to trust to by raising an army under the earl of

Manchester, 190. and try to recover him to his former vigour, 191. insensibly altered from his moderate inclinations, 191. the consequences, 192. what use was endeavoured to be made of him by the moderate party, 206, 207. raises the siege of Gloucester, 229, 230. and seizes Cirencester in his return, 231. after a drawn battle at Newbury, where the king had intercepted his course, he proceeds to London, 234—237. his reception there, 238, 257. pretended reconciliation between him and sir W. Waller, 258. courted popularity too much, 302. removes his head quarters from Windsor to St. Alban's, 314. letter to him from the parliament at Oxford, 400. his answer, directed to the earl of Forth, 403. never prospered after having taken the covenant and writing this letter, 409. his movements against Abingdon and Oxford, 476, *n.* 477, *n.* 478—487. marches towards the west, 487. notwithstanding the orders of parliament, 488, 495. Weymouth delivered up to him, 497. he relieves Lyme, *ib.* his good fortune declines, 523. pursued into Cornwall by the king, 525. pays no attention to his overture of peace, 530, *n.* 533, 534. rejects also an overture from the king's officers, 537, 538. his horse troops escape the king's, his foot surrender on terms, 531, *n.* 545, 547. escapes himself to Plymouth by sea, 531, *n.* 547. he and the parliament dissatisfied with each other, v. 13. gives up his commission, in consequence of

INDEX.

- the self-denying ordinance, 123, 131, 132. his death, 429. bishop Warburton's censure of Charles I. for not securing the earl of Essex to his interest, *W.* i. 217. his observations on the earl's character and conduct, ii. 163, 327. iv. 231, 409, 524, 600. and on the motives that directed his movements after the battle of Edge-hill, iii. 299.
- Evelyn, sir John, iii. 322, 323.
- Everard, sir Richard, viii. 192.
- Evers, sergeant, chosen speaker of the house of commons assembled by Charles I. at Oxford, iv. 396, n.
- Evesham taken by the parliament forces, v. 174.
- Eugenio, don, vi. 389.
- Ewre, colonel, vi. 203.
- Exchequer, by what means exhausted at the beginning of the reign of Charles I. i. 6. expedients for replenishing it, 7, 44.
- Excise, imposition of, hitherto considered by the English as a mark of slavery, and never feared by themselves, iv. 52. an excise imposed by the parliament at Westminster, iv. 418. and by that at Oxford, *ib.*
- Excommunication, a decree of, against such as adhere to the late peace, and bear arms for the heretics of Ireland, viii. 36. letter to suspend it, 176.
- Exeter delivered up to prince Maurice upon articles, iv. 219. designs there in favour of Charles II. vii. 323.
- Eyres, captain, iv. 146.
- F.
- Faction begun in the king's army, iii. 269.
- Fairfax, Ferdinando lord, ii. 397. iii. 492, 498. iv. 152, 618. one of the few who were active for the parliament in Yorkshire, iii. 186. unmolested by the king's party, 436. signs the articles of neutrality agreed in Yorkshire, 437. reprehended for it by parliament, 438, 439. *W.* in *loc.* if assisted, would have been master of Yorkshire, iii. 441. made general in Yorkshire for the parliament, 442, his operations, 444, 446. iv. 137, n.
- Fairfax, sir Thomas, afterwards lord, i. 486. iv. 137, n. v. 78, 143, 170, 171, 178, 181, 193, 241, n. 256, 265, 273, 313, 317, 321, 358, 360, 392, 393, 434, 437, 442, n. 443. vi. 7, 58, 102, 205, 254, 255, 348. *W.* vi. 254. one of the few who were active in Yorkshire for the parliament, iii. 186. unmolested by the king's party, 436. presents a petition to the king at York, which was not accepted, iii. 575, 578. first distinguished himself by defeating colonel Bellasis at Selby, iv. 422. defeats lord Byron at Nantwich, 424, n. 429. wounded at the battle of Marston-moor, 510. made general in the room of the earl of Essex, v. 131. sits down before Oxford, 175. draws off again, 180. defeats the king at Naseby, 183. his troops well disciplined, 185. *W.* in *loc.* enters Somersetshire, v. 207. defeats lord Goring near Lamport, 208. having retaken Leicester, 222. takes Bridgewater, 223. routs lord Hopton's forces at Torrington, 314. thought himself a presbyterian, 345. bishop Warburton says his best reason for thinking so

INDEX.

was because his wife was one, *W. in loc.* Ragland bravely maintained against him by the marquis of Worcester, v. 424. Cromwell now declared head of the army, though he continued general in name, 430. was a member of the house of commons notwithstanding the self-denying ordinance, *ib.* the parliament not jealous of him, though Cromwell had the ascendant over him, 435. did not suspect Cromwell entertained any wicked designs against the king, 436. his account to the parliament of the king's being seized at Holmby, 439. applies to parliament for permission for the king to see his children, 453. writ a sharp letter to the parliament upon the tumultuous petition of apprentices and others to parliament concerning their militia, 461. the city sends six aldermen to him, now with his army on Hounslow heath, and submits, 467. he conducts the two speakers and other members to their several houses of parliament, 469. wished nothing that Cromwell did, and yet contributed to bring it all to pass, 504. vi. 234. bishop Warburton's comment on this observation, *W. in loc.* sent against the royalists who had risen in Kent under the earl of Norwich, vi. 57, 59, 60. besieges them in Colchester, whither the earl and some of them had betaken themselves, 60—62. the town delivered up to him, 99. marches for London, 204. did not sit in the court that condemned Charles I. 234. suppresses a

mutiny of the levellers, 432. gives up his commission, 452. possesses himself of York, with an intention of declaring for Charles II. vii. 392, 397. dismisses his troops on finding Monk not disposed to concur with him, 397. bishop Warburton's observations on his character, iv. 524, 535. v. 27, 185. vii. 367.

Fairfax, (Anne Vere,) lady, her interruption of the court that sat in judgment on Charles I. vi. 233. bishop Warburton's remark upon her, *W. in loc.*

Falconbridge, (Fauconberg,) Thomas Bellasis, first viscount, iii. 437. iv. 421. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632.

Falconbridge, Thomas Bellasis, second viscount, afterwards earl, married one of Cromwell's daughters, vii. 211. intercedes in vain with the protector to save Dr. Hewet's life, 253. hostile to his father-in-law's interest, 291. this doubted by bishop Warburton, *W.* vii. 211, 291.

Falkland, Henry Carey, first viscount, i. 389. iv. 244, 245.

Falkland, Lucius Carey, second viscount, ii. 27, 42, 43, 97, 606, 331, 494. n. 497. iii. 621, 212, 213, 248, 270, 549, iv. 69, 70, 222. *W.* i. 294, 309, 311, 314, 413. ii. 94, 247, 313. iv. 224. the only one in the house of commons who spoke in favour of the earl of Strafford, i. 303. censures lord Finch for being the promoter of ship-money, 522, 523, 526, *W.* i. 311. he and Hyde sat so constantly to-

INDEX.

- gether in the house of commons, that room was always made for them, 412. declares in favour of the bill to take the bishops' votes in parliament, 413. afterwards changed his opinion, and gave his reason for having supported the bill, 414. ii. 76, *n.* a saying of his respecting bishops, 484. ii. 595. made secretary of state, ii. 93, 140. his character, 94. his scruples about accepting office, 95. overcome by Mr. Hyde, *ib.* his reasons for accepting the seals, iv. 248. classed by the rabble among the disaffected, 103, *n.* inclined through the king's imprudence to take no part in public affairs, 133. the king imposes on him the unpleasant duty of demanding the staffs of office from the earls of Essex and Holland, 332, 611. one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. one of those expected by parliament from making their peace on any terms, 239. present at the battle of Edge-hill, 630. his conduct as a soldier, 634. drew up the king's declaration respecting his advancement to Brentford, 320, *n.* slain in the battle of Newbury, 240. further particulars of his character and conduct, 241. the alteration produced in him by the war, 253.
- Falkland, Henry Carey, third viscount, one of the committee sent by parliament to wait upon Charles II. at the Hague, vii. 499.
- Falkland, (Elizabeth Taunfield,) lady, iv. 243.
- Fanatics, when this appellation came to be used, v. 430.
- Fanning, Dominic, or Patrick, headed a tumult at Limerick, viii. 28, 227. and thereby made the mayor, 29, 222, 227. his fate, 227. vi. 550.
- Fanshaw, — v. 212, 255, 269, 270, 319.
- Farr, colonel, vi. 61, *n.*
- Farrell, — lieutenant-general, viii. 92, 112, 113, 114.
- Fauconberg, (see Falconbridge.)
- Featly, Dr. iv. 276, 277.
- Feild, Theophilus, bishop of St. David's, i. 103.
- Felton, John, his situation and family, i. 47, 48. on what private and public grounds hostile to the duke of Buckingham, 48. particulars of his assassination of the duke, 49. his behaviour after having effected it, 51—53.
- Fennel, colonel, instrumental in betraying Limerick to the rebels, viii. 224. yet soon afterwards hanged by them, 228.
- Fennell, Dr. viii. 35, 192.
- Ferdinand II. (see Emperor.)
- Ferdinand III. (see Emperor and king of Hungary.)
- Fern, — i. 92.
- Fern, Henry, afterwards bishop of Chester, one of the king's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge in matters relating to the church, v. 51.
- Ferté, M. la Senneterre, the French ambassador, courts the parliament, iii. 359. iv. 326. recalled, iv. 326.
- Fettyplace, — iii. 417.
- Fielding, Basil lord, afterwards second earl of Denbigh, iii. 156. (as earl of Denbigh,) vi. 261. present on the parliament side at the battle of Edge-hill,

INDEX.

- iii. 272. (as earl of Denbigh,) one of the few lords who attended parliament, iv. 403, 630. one of the parliament commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 36. notice of him, 74. detested the desperate designs of his party, *ib.* according to his own statement, would have served the king, if he could have materially benefited him, *ib.* dispossessed of his command by the self-denying ordinance, 131, 132. one of the commissioners sent by the parliament to the king about his passing four acts, 507.
- Fielding, colonel Richard, iii. 266. iv. 37, 493. the command devolves upon him at Reading when besieged by the earl of Essex, iv. 28. tried for surrendering the place, 42, 45. sentenced to lose his head, 46. reprieved by the king, but deprived of his regiment, *ib.* served afterwards as a volunteer, *ib.* and had a principal command in another army, yet never recovered this blemish, *ib.* acquitted by lord Clarendon of any base compliance with the enemy, or of cowardice, 47. evils that arose to the king from this trial, *ib.* made captain of the ship, Constant Reformation, vi. 150.
- Fiennes, colonel John, iii. 608. iv. 575.
- Fiennes, Nathaniel, i. 510. ii. 577, 606. iv. 57, 141, 147, 614. his character, i. 325. one of the leading men of his party in the house of commons, 347, *n.* one of those for root and branch, as it was called, 410. one of the committee appointed by parliament to accompany Charles I. into Scotland, 494.
- routed by prince Rupert near Worcester, iii. 234, 625. his courage generally disesteemed, iv. 141, 611. surrenders Bristol, of which he was governor, upon articles to prince Rupert, 145. tried and condemned for this surrender, but pardoned, 343. goes abroad in consequence, 346. keeper of the great seal to the protector, Richard Cromwell, vii. 305.
- Fifth-monarchy-men, who so called, vii. 272.
- Finch, sir John, afterwards lord, i. 368. ii. 54. *W.* iv. 440. made ship-money odious by his speech, i. 127. first lord chief justice of the common pleas, then lord keeper of the great seal, 129, 231. his character, 130. his declaration in favour of the council-board, 131. prejudicial to it, *ib.* one of the king's counsellors at York, 280. withdraws beyond sea to escape impeachment, 310, 522, 525, 526. bishop Warburton's observation on this matter, *W.* i. 311. lord Falkland severe against him, iv. 245.
- Firmo, J. B. Ranucini, archbishop of, (see Nuncio.)
- Fisheries on the coasts of Scotland and the isles of Orkney, a source of great trade to Holland, vi. 601.
- Fleet, Charles I. raises one against Scotland, i. 202. revolt of part of the fleet to the king from Rainsborough, vi. 23. Rainsborough and some other officers put on shore by the seamen, 31. the revolted ships go over to Holland, *ib.* the prince of Wales is received at the fleet, 33. factions in it, 33, 63. the prince comes into the Downs with it, 36. thence into

INDEX.

the river Thames, 38, 64. the parliament prepares a fleet against this under the earl of Warwick, 68. the prince returns towards Holland, and the earl of Warwick after him, 71. the ill condition of the prince's fleet, 131. the earl of Warwick comes with his fleet on the coast of Holland, 133. prince Rupert comes with his fleet on the coast of Spain, 390. goes into the river of Lisbon, 391. the chief commander of the parliament's fleet comes on the Spanish coast, 392. his letter to the king of Spain, *ib.* sails into the river of Lisbon, 393. requires prince Rupert's fleet to be delivered up, *ib.* the prince escapes with his fleet, 395. a fleet in 1653. sent forth under three admirals, vii. 21. beats the Dutch, *ib.* and again, when van Trump is slain, 23. prince Rupert with his fleet arrives at Nantes, 65. a fleet sent out under Pen, with a land army under Venables, 172. goes to Barbadoes, 175. thence to Hispaniola, 176. their orders from Cromwell, *ib.* Venables beaten by a few Spaniards, 177. succeeds at Jamaica, 178. returns to England, *ib.* Pen and Venables committed to the Tower, 179. another fleet sent out at the same time under Blake, 173. goes into the Mediterranean, 175. forces Algiers to a peace, 179. enters the harbour of Tunis, and burns their fleet, *ib.* Lawson and the fleet declare for the parliament, and come into the river, 389. the parliament reforms the navy by making Monk and Mountague admirals, 432. Charles

II.'s letter to the fleet, 466. dutifully received, 480. the English fleet under Mountague comes on the coast of Holland, 498. the duke of York, as admiral, takes possession of it, *ib.* the ships new named, *ib.* the king embarks for England, 504. the fleet sails May 24. *ib.* and lands the king at Dover May 26, *ib.*

Fleetwood, Charles, iii. 262, 627. vii. 368. originally a trooper in the earl of Essex's guards, iii. 262. opposed Cromwell's being made king, vii. 196. delivers the address of the council of officers about the government to the protector Richard, 308. sent by the council to advise him to dissolve the parliament, 309, 310. notice of him, 367. appointed by parliament one of the seven commissioners to govern the army, 370. chosen general by the officers, 372. one of the committee of safety constituted by the army, 375. his behaviour during several tergiversations of the soldiers in 1659. 391. bishop Warburton's observation respecting him, *W.* vii. 367.

Fleetwood, sir Miles, iii. 627.

Florence, duke of, vii. 364.

Flushing given up by king James i. 115.

Forbes, sir Arthur, vii. 476.

Forbes, William, bishop of Edinburgh, notice of, i. 153. ill treated by the rabble about the liturgy, 194.

Ford, sir Edward, v. 498. made high sheriff of Sussex by the king, and had a regiment of horse, iv. 426, *n.* 450. Arundel castle committed to him, 453. married Ireton's daughter, v. 498.

Forrest laws revived, i. 120. an

INDEX.

- act passed to ascertain the limits of all forests in England, 501.
- Foreign kings and states, inclinations of, in the contest between the king and parliament, iii. 358.
- Fortescue, sir Faithful, iii. 281, 471. viii. 64. why he had come from Ireland, iii. 277. deserts to the king in the battle of Edge-hill, 278.
- Forth, earl of, (see Patrick Ruthen.)
- Foster, justice, iii. 407.
- Foulke, ——— iii. 391.
- Fountain, ——— v. 86, 141.
- Fox, Stephen, admitted to manage Charles II.'s money upon his removal from France into Germany, vii. 89.
- France, i. 493. war precipitately declared against, 47. its origin chiefly owing to a private amour of the duke of Buckingham, 67. the feeling of the country with respect to this war, 69. peace concluded with France, and why, 6, 117. France encourages the disaffected in Scotland against king Charles, 223. favours the parliament against the king, iii. 359. the affairs at France whilst Charles II. was at Paris, vi. 353. countenances Cromwell, 400. troubles of the French court, 1652. 583. a French fleet seized by the English commonwealth, 605. the French send an ambassador into England, *ib.* Cromwell's treaty with France, 49. the French defeat the Spanish at Dunkirk, 283. Dunkirk is surrendered, 286. and the French king delivers it to the English, *ib.* observations on this war with Spain, 339. the queen mother of France designs to put an end to it by a treaty and marriage between the two crowns, 340. she advises cardinal Mazarine to concur in it, *ib.* his arguments against it, *ib.* why he afterwards yielded to a peace, 341. two particulars of difficulty in this treaty referred to a personal conference between cardinal Mazarine and don Lewis de Haro, 343. how settled, 348.
- France, king of, Louis XIV. vi. 353. vii. 286, 341.
- France, Anne of Austria, queen of, iv. 330, 332. v. 347, 349, 351, 352, 364, 556. vi. 353, 355, 468, 480, 481, 583. vii. 62, 64, 65, 350. the duke of Buckingham when in France fell in love with her, i. 67, *W. in loc.* made regent, and professed to espouse the cause of Charles I. iv. 325. v. 346, 350. was a very worthy lady, vii. 65. designs to put an end to the war between France and Spain by a treaty and marriage, 340. advises cardinal Mazarine to concur in it, *ib.* who yields at last, 341.
- Francis I. king of France, vii. 344.
- Frazier, Dr. physician to Charles II. v. 261, *n.* 333, *n.* 334. much contributed to Charles II.'s journey into Scotland, vi. 485. contrived the empty design of his withdrawing to the Highlands, 486. a petition intended of the Scottish presbyterians by Balcarris and him that the chancellor of the exchequer might be removed, vii. 59.
- Frederic III. (see king of Denmark.)
- Freeman, sir Ralph, i. 77, 80, *n.*
- French, Nicholas, titular bishop

INDEX.

- of Ferns, viii. 81, 192, 218. published a book relating to Ireland, traducing the marquis of Ormond, 4. took the chair in the assembly of catholic clergy at Waterford, 27. signed the letter of credit from the catholic bishops to the lord lieutenant, 155. one of the committee of the congregation, 184. importuned the marquis of Clanrickard to accept the charge of lord deputy, 202. his behaviour afterwards with respect to him, 203. negotiates with the duke of Lorraine, 211.
- Fryer, colonel, sir Thomas, i. 50, 53.
- Fuensaldagna, conde of, vi. 331. vii. 183, 186, 283. he and the conde of Pignoranda governed the councils at Brussels, vi. 327, 450, *n.* vii. 181. notice of him, vi. 328. removed to the government of Milan, vii. 182.
- Fuentarabia, treaty concluded there between France and Spain, vii. 344—355.
- G.
- Gage, colonel, iv. 593. takes Bostal house, 495. notice of him, 551. relieves Basinghouse, 552. aids in relieving Banbury castle, 580. and Donnington castle, 590. made governor of Oxford, 594. within a month after shot in attempting to break down Culham bridge, 595.
- Galloway, William, vii. 452.
- Galway, the confederate catholics besiege the nuncio there, viii. 67. disobedient to the lord deputy, 219. Ireton's insulting summons to it, 229. desires the protection of the lord deputy, *ib.* surrendered to the rebels, 230.
- Gaol-delivery, the advice and desire of parliament to the king concerning, iii. 535. his answer, 536. parliament makes an ordinance to forbid the next assizes and gaol-delivery, *ib.*
- Garcies, conde de, governor of Cambray, vi. 332.
- Gardiner, sir Thomas, v. 34, 60. recorder of London, designed by Charles I. to be the speaker of the house of commons, 1640. but was not returned a member, i. 296, 297, 519. notice of him, 296, 519. committed to the Tower by parliament, ii. 343. appointed by the king his solicitor-general, iv. 340. v. 38. one of his commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 37.
- Garraway, captain, iv. 540.
- Garrisons, divers, surrendered to the parliament. v. 423.
- Gascoign, sir Bernard, joins those who rose in Kent for Charles II. vi. 61. taken prisoner at Colchester, 99. notice of him, 100. why he was not shot with sir C. Lucas and sir G. Lisle, 101.
- Gaughagan, friar Anthony, viii. 220.
- Gell, sir John, iv. 395. possessed Derbyshire for the parliament, iii. 441, 453. disquieted by colonel Hastings, 454. took Litchfield cathedral, 455. he and sir W. Bruerton routed by the earl of Northampton on Hopton-beath, though the earl fell there, 457. his and sir W.B.'s exorbitant demand as a ransom for the earl's body, 460.
- Generals, (see Major-generals.)
- George, — iii. 417.
- Gerard, — tried for holding correspondence with Charles

I N D E X.

- II. vii. 28. condemned, 29. beheaded, 30.
- Gerard, (see Gerrard.)
- Germany, i. 224. invaded by the Swedes, 118. the Jesuits there possess ascendancy over all other men, vii. 128.
- Germany, emperor of, (see Emperor.)
- Gerrard, colonel Charles, afterwards general and lord, iv. 574, 590. v. 178, 187, 284, 294, 295, 298, 336. wounded in the battle at Edge-hill, iii. 292. and again at the siege of Litchfield, iv. 35. present at the siege of Bristol, 145, 614. general of South Wales, 187, 221. notice of his conduct as governor thereof, 222, 228. the king obliged to remove him in consequence of the complaints against him, 228. and to make him a baron as a compensation, *ib.* entertained extreme malice against lord Digby, 288. calls him a traitor in the king's presence, 299. produced by lord Littleton, to prove that the chancellor of the exchequer had spoken ill of the king, vii. 73, 75, 76.
- Gerrard, sir Gilbert, i. 329. one of the committee of the house of commons who sat during the recess, ii. 10.
- Gilvy, — vii. 147.
- Glamorgan, earl of, (see lord Herbert.)
- Glanville, John, sergeant, chosen speaker of the house of commons, 1640. i. 233. well qualified for it, *ib.* notice of his speech about a supply, 242, 243.
- Glemham, sir Thomas, iii. 184, 619. iv. 421. v. 229. his character, iii. 185. left by the king governor of York, at the request of the gentry, 435, 512. made governor of Oxford, v. 288.
- Glencarne, William Cunningham, ninth earl of, receives a commission from Charles II. to collect troops in the Highlands, vii. 53. retires to his own house, and makes his peace with Monk, 54. yet still faithful to the king, *ib.*
- Glin (Glyn) opposed the self-denying ordinance, v. 89. a leading man in the house of commons, 454.
- Gloucester, considerations whether Charles I. should besiege it, iv. 173. he summons it, 177. the citizens' and garrison's answer, 179. he besieges it, 181. prosecution of the siege, 225. the siege raised by the approach of the earl of Essex, 230. design of seizing the town for Charles II. by major-general Massey, vii. 322.
- Gloucester, bishop of, (see G. Goodman.)
- Gloucester, Henry duke of, son of Charles I. vii. 223, 362, 363, 451. committed by parliament to the care of the earl of Northumberland, v. 453, 471, *n.* how treated by him, 471, *n.* the countess of Dorset had been his governess, by the king's appointment, until her death, *ib.* his father's discourse with him, about seven years' old, by consent of parliament, 473. placed by parliament with the countess of Leicester after being with the earl of Northumberland, vii. 85. well instructed by Mr. Lovel his tutor, 86. removed to Carisbrook castle under captain Mildmay, *ib.* his promising character, 87. allowed by parliament,

INDEX.

- with the advice of Cromwell, to go beyond sea, *ib.* joins his mother and brother at Paris, 88. Charles II. on removing into Germany, leaves him with his mother in France, 91. an account of the endeavours at Paris to pervert him in his religion, 120. Charles II. sends for him in consequence, and he joins him at Cologne, 122, 124. present at the battle of Dunkirk, 284. five thousand pounds sent to him to the Hague by the English parliament, 499.
- Glyn, (see Glin.)
- Godolphin, Sidney, shot at Chagford, iii. 431. his character, *ib.* bishop Warburton states that he left by will two hundred pounds to Hobbes, in esteem of his great parts, not his principles, *W. in loc.*
- Godolphin, colonel William, iii. 429. iv. 99.
- Goffe, colonel, offers to stand by the protector, Richard Cromwell, against the council of officers, vii. 310. removed from his command by them, 312.
- Goffe, Dr. chief agent of lord Jermyn, vi. 32. his part in the factions in the prince's fleet, 34. has a share of the money sent from Moscow for Charles II. 570. changes his religion, *ib.*
- Goodman, Godfrey, bishop of Gloucester, one of the bishops who signed the protestation against their constrained absence from the house of lords, ii. 116.
- Goodwin, or Goodwyn, Robert, *W.* v. 553. one of the committee sent to Dublin by the parliament, iii. 482. iv. 391, 392.
- Gorges, Dr. Charles II.'s chaplain, vi. 531.
- Gorges, lord, iv. 576.
- Goring, George lord, afterwards made earl of Norwich, iv. 630. (as earl of Norwich,) v. 235. vi. 40, 102. the king's ambassador extraordinary in France, iv. 332. v. 235. (as earl of Norwich,) heads the rising in Kent in favour of the king, vi. 56. advances to Blackheath, 58. transports himself into Essex, and fixes in Colchester, 60. taken prisoner there, and sent to the Tower, 103. a new high court of justice sits to try him and others, 252. his behaviour at his trial, 253. condemned, 255. votes in parliament for and against his petition for life equally divided, 258. the speaker gives the casting vote in his favour, and why, *ib.*
- Goring, colonel George, afterwards general and lord, i. 610. iv. 466, 509, 527, 528, 538, 542, 559, 576. v. 10. (as lord G.) 123, 139, 140, 153, 162, 170, 178, 188, 193, 195, 197, 206, 207, 210, 211, 220, 222, 233, 234, 239, 240, 241, n. 245, 250, 254, 255, 256, 258, 259, and n. 268. vii. 380. *W.* i. 428, 434. how far concerned in the correspondences between the court and the army, i. 469—472. ii. 458, 479, 487. *W.* i. 436, 466. made himself a favourite of parliament by discovering these designs, iii. 173, n. 174. governor of Portsmouth, ii. 230. ingratiates himself again with the king and queen, 231. iii. 174. declares for the king, iii. 172. notice of his character, 173, n. 175. v. 2. and some previous particulars of his con-

INDEX.

duct, iii. 173, *n.* Portsmouth besieged by the parliament forces, and taken through his neglect, 191, *n.* 195, 224. appointed lieutenant-general of the horse at York, 443, 606. made general of the horse in the room of prince Rupert, iv. 532. Wilmot his mortal enemy, 533. the earl of Essex's horse, under sir W. Balfour, escape through the king's army owing to his neglect, 545, 530, *n.* his conduct in the second battle of Newbury, 585. made a friendship with lord Digby, each believing he could deceive the other, v. 10, *W. in loc.* the king had no intentions that he should be with the prince of Wales, a point at which he aimed, and why, v. 83, 137. sent with a command into Hampshire, 137. beaten off with loss from Christ-Church, 138. outrages of his horse, 138, 141. Weymouth taken through his want of vigilance, 139. his conduct and movements in those parts, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149. complaints against his horse, 142. further particulars of his design to have the command of the west, 155, 157, and *n.* 158, *n.* 159, 160. lord Clarendon resolved never to mingle with him in any action or council of trust, notwithstanding his civil deportment to him, 158, *n.* sent for by the king to Oxford, 169. prince Rupert, being jealous of him, promotes his views respecting the west, 171, 172, 173. whither he is sent back with full command, 173, 174. bishop Warburton considers that this single intrigue ruined

the king irretrievably by dividing his small army, *W.* v. 172. expressed all possible contempt of the council attending the prince, v. 189, 236. his mismanagement at Taunton, 190, 191. ordered to march into Northamptonshire, 189, 192. his conduct towards the garrison at Lampport, 195, 196. the prince of Wales writes to him to reform the disorders of his army, 198, 199. draws off from Taunton upon sir T. Fairfax's entering Somersetshire, 207. beaten by him near Lampport, 208. retires to Barnstable, 209. makes propositions to the prince, 231. which are granted, 232. his demands of the prince, 237. his conference with one of the prince's council, 242, 257. his conduct at Exeter, 245, 260. gives over the thought of defending Devon, 257. retires into France, 261. discourses against him, 262. had rendered the Cornish hostile to him, 262, 268. reasons for and against his having had a secret understanding with the enemy, 265, 266. bishop Warburton's observation on his and prince Rupert's caballing together, *W.* v. 266.

Gourney, or Gurney, sir Richard, lord mayor of London, his loyalty to Charles I. ii. 62. reckoned in consequence a malignant, 90. unable to prevent the city from petitioning the king, 146. honourable mention of him, 153. Charles I.'s encomium of him, upon the exclusion of his name by parliament from the militia bill, 379, 412. committed to the Tower for causing the king's proclamation against the mi-

- litia to be publicly proclaimed,
iii. 152.
- Gowre, colonel, iii. 437.
- Grady, colonel, viii. 98.
- Graham, James, (see marquis of Mountrose.)
- Grammont, marshal de, vii. 341, *n*.
- Grana, marquis of, the emperor's ambassador at Madrid, notice of, vi. 375, *n*. the removal of Olivarez owing to him, *ib*. made the match between the king and queen of Spain, for which he would have been made a cardinal, had he lived, *ib*.
- Grandison, William Villiers, viscount, i. 389. received a commission as colonel-general, to raise horse for the king, iii. 610, 628. takes Nantwich, 259. present at the battle of Edge-hill, 631. taken prisoner at Winchester, 343. died of wounds received at the siege of Bristol, iv. 144, 151, 615. his character, 151.
- Grantham taken by the king's forces, iii. 446.
- Grantham, colonel, iii. 282.
- Greenvil, sir Bevil, iv. 150, 612, 563. active for Charles I. in Cornwall, iii. 418, 424, 429. iv. 96. the most beloved man in the county, iii. 424. he and sir J. Berkley beat the earl of Stamford near Stratton, iv. 100. killed in the battle of Lansdown, 123. his character, 125, 605. sir R. Greenvil was his younger brother, 563. and sir John Greenvil his son, vii. 443. recommended his family to the care of Mr. Morrice, *ib*.
- Greenvil, sir John, vii. 323, 383, 451. wounded in the second battle of Newbury, iv. 589. governor of Scilly, vi. 149.
- which he delivered up to sir G. Ayscue after a vigorous defence, 611. allowed by parliament after this surrender to enjoy his estate, vii. 443. was a son of sir Bevil Greenvil, *ib*. introduced to general Monk by Mr. Morrice, *ib*. and receiving his instructions goes over to Charles II. at Brussels, 445. who sends back his letters to the parliament, army, &c. by him, 453. being called for by the parliament, delivers the letter, 478, 479. the answer of the house of commons delivered to him, 486.
- Greenvil, sir Richard, iv. 536, 539, 540, 559, v. 136, *n*. 137, *n*. 200, 233, 239, 254, 256, 257, 258, 271, 303, 323, 332. beats a party of the earl of Essex's horse at Bodmin, iv. 539. left by the king to block up Plymouth, 562. notice of his character, and of some previous particulars of his conduct, 563. was a younger brother of sir Bevil Greenvil, *ib*. his conduct and movements in the west, v. 144—148. wounded at Taunton, 148. the commissioners of Devon complain of him, 160. his conduct inquired into, 163—168. appointed major-general of the army in the west, 188. complaints against him at Barnstable, 201—203. notice of his nature and temper, &c. 204, and *n*. the prince of Wales's intentions with regard to him, 206. grows troublesome again, 210. returns his commission of field-marshal, formerly given him by the prince, 212. particulars respecting the estate he obtained by his wife, 213. and his military promotion, 214.

INDEX.

- a great plunderer, 215. notice respecting the protection granted to his house and estate, 216. his conduct after he had given up his commission, 218. the prince remonstrates with him, 219. cooperates with lord Goring in his designs, 231. and obtains the command of the remains of the western army, 233, 254. reasons for and against his being sent to continue the blockade of Plymouth, 255, 256. his movements, 256, 267, 268, 271, 273. his behaviour towards the prince, 269, 270. and at Tavistock, 304. appointed to command the foot in the west under lord Hopton, 306. whom he himself had recommended as general in chief, 305. yet notwithstanding refuses to act under him, 307, 308. whereupon he is committed to prison by the prince, 309. an unpopular act, notwithstanding his previous oppression and tyranny, 310—313. bishop Warburton vindicates lord Clarendon from the charge of prejudice in disfavour of him, *W.* iv. 562.
- Gregory XV. pope, i. 36.
- Grey, Anchetil, one of the commissioners for the associated county of Dorset, v. 152.
- Grey, Thomas lord, had the command in Leicestershire for the parliament, iii. 453, 454. joins the earl of Essex on his march to relieve Gloucester, iv. 229.
- Grey of Ruthvin, Michael Longueville, lord, one of those who signed the declaration that Charles I. had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571.
- Grey of Warke, William lord, iv. 403, 610. committed to the Tower by parliament for refusing to go as their commissioner into Scotland for relief, iv. 153. as speaker of the house of lords signs a letter to the lords justices in Ireland, 368. and another to the king, 415.
- Grievances, Mr. Pym's and others' speeches concerning, i. 234. Mr. Pym begins the debate of grievances, 299. agents from the counties in Ireland to represent pretended grievances to the lord lieutenant, viii. 118. these complaints found to be groundless, 120. the lord lieutenant's answer to them, 131.
- Griffith, — ii. 263.
- Grime, sir Richard, an equerry of Charles I. iii. 633.
- Grimston, afterwards sir Harbottle, spoke against ship-money in the house of commons, i. 235. and against archbishop Laud, 524. chosen speaker of the house of commons that met 1660. vii. 477. signs, as speaker, the loyal answer of the house to Charles II.'s letter, 486.
- Grocers' hall, both houses of parliament appoint committees to sit there, from pretended danger at Westminster, ii. 178.
- Grove, Hugh, concerned in the rising at Salisbury for Charles II. vii. 139. taken prisoner and beheaded, 144.
- Guilford, earl of, (see earl of Lauderdale.)
- Guernsey reduced by Cromwell's forces, vi. 608.
- Gunpowder, an act for the free making of, within the kingdom, i. 503.
- Gunter colonel, killed in the fight at Charlgrave field, iv. 87. the best officer of horse the parlia-

INDEX.

ment had, *ib.* of known malice to the church, *ib.*
 Gunter, colonel, provides a bark for the escape of Charles II. after the battle of Worcester, vi. 541.
 Gurney, (see Gourney.)
 Guzman, Louisa de, (see queen of Portugal.)

H.

Hales, — his part in the commotions in Kent for Charles II. vi. 26—29, 40. transports himself into Holland, 41.

Hales, sir Edward, vi. 39.

Hall, Joseph, bishop of Norwich, the earl of Essex had great reverence for him, i. 409. one of the bishops who signed the protestation against their constrained absence from the house of lords, iii. 116.

Hambden, Alexander, kept in prison till his death for his part in Mr. Waller's and Tomkins's design, iv. 69, 75.

Hambden, John, i. 127, 235, 241, 258, 372, 375. ii. 577, 42, 76, *n.* 263. iii. 188, *n.* 263. iv. 291. *W.* vi. 126. compelled by law to pay the ship-money, i. 121, 127, 241. the most popular man in the house of commons, 241. where he was one of the leading men, 347, *n.* his character, 323. ii. 15. courted by solicitor-general Herbert, i. 368. was for root and branch, as it was termed, 410. how he induces lord Falkland to vote against the bishops' votes in parliament, 414. one of the committee sent by parliament with Charles I. into Scotland, 494. ii. 15. might have been of service, had he been conciliated by the king, 60. articles of treason charged against him and five others, by order of the

king, 124, 604. farther particulars relative to the charge, 125, 130, 147, 156, 162, 164, 169, 184, 192, 606, 229, 258, 276, 280, 306, 316, 342, 449, 459, 477, 548. iii. 44, 156, 618. has a regiment conferred on him by parliament, iii. 156. reinforces the earl of Essex at the battle of Edge-hill, 282. unsuccessful in an attempt against the Brill, 483. advised the besieging of Oxford, where the king was, rather than Reading, iv. 39. mortally wounded in the fight at Charlgrave field, 82, *n.* 88. precipitate on this occasion, though usually wary, 88, *n.* farther sketch of his character, 88, *n.* 91. bishop Warburton's explanation of, and observation on it, *W.* iv. 95. the bishop considers that the historian has not done him justice, *W.* i. 241. remark respecting the place of his death, iv. 90. unworthy of the historian's notice in bishop Warburton's opinion, *W.* in *loc.* lord Falkland entertained a good opinion of his uprightness and integrity, iv. 245. Mr. Pym much governed by him, 438. a daughter of his married colonel Hammond, v. 489. was cousin to, and bosom friend of Cromwell, 545. why bishop Warburton considers his patriotism to be doubtful, *W.* ii. 263. according to the bishop, advised the earl of Essex to pursue the king after the battle of Edge-hill, *W.* iii. 299.

Hamilton, count, *W.* iv. 520.

Hamilton, — v. 324.

Hamilton, James Hamilton, third marquis, afterwards duke, and earl of Cambridge, i. 512, 369, 392, 401. ii. 38, 586,

INDEX.

614. iii. 311. iv. 432. vi. 17, 44, 45, 47, 53, 103. viii. 63. his character, i. 82. master of the horse to Charles I. 140. his sole adviser in all Scotch affairs, 141, 143, 195, 510. vi. 239. his affection to the king suspected, i. 142. has the command of the fleet against the Scotch covenanters, 202. his suspicious conduct, 213. not at all acceptable to the earl of Essex, 222. nor to the earl of Holland, 216. nor to his countrymen, 218. finds fault with the treaty of pacification made with the covenanters, *ib.* gets sir H. Vane made secretary of state in the room of sir J. Coke, 222. supposed to have obtained lord Lowden's release from imprisonment to endear himself to the Scotch, 253. had the skill to interfere in public affairs as much or as little as he pleased, 264. why more hateful to the people than any other person, 268. had been accused of a design of making himself king of Scotland, 269. account of his craft in inducing the king to allow him to endear himself to the Scotch covenanters, *ib.* *W.* i. 273. one of the counsellors about the king at York, i. 280. his removal from him recommended by the Scotch commissioners, 276. how he gained them over, 333. advises the king to appoint several of the popular party privy-counsellors, 340. Mr. Hyde importuned by the king and others not to bring him forward as an evil counsellor, 482. compelled to give up the cinque ports, *ib.* transactions in Scotland respecting him, Argyle, and

Mountrose, ii. 16, 575. made a duke, 19. signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 71, 571. sir H. Vane never kept fair quarter with him, 567. his conduct with respect to the Scotch parliament called by the covenanters, iv. 293, 299, 624. goes to the king at Oxford, 299, 627. accused of treason, 628. imprisoned, 436, 629. private examination of certain persons respecting his conduct, 435. particulars respecting his being set at liberty, v. 323—335. goes into Scotland, 527. enters England with an army raised by the Scotch, in consequence of their treaty with Charles I. in the Isle of Wight, vi. 71. his irregular march, 71, 73, 74. routed at Uxeter by Lambert, 75. and taken prisoner, *ib.* tried by a new high court of justice, 252. condemned, 255. his petition for life rejected in the house of commons, 256. beheaded, 261. bishop Warburton considers him and his brother the earl of Lanrick a couple of knaves, notwithstanding all Burnet has said in their behalf, *W.* iv. 431. Hamilton, duke of, (see Earl of Lanrick.) Hamilton, (Anne Cunningham,) marchioness of, iv. 433. Hamilton, sir James, iv. 119, 120. Hammond, — mayor of St. Ives, v. 312. Hammond, colonel, v. 503. vi. 197, 226. *W.* v. 552. governor of the Isle of Wight, v. 489. nephew of Dr. Hammond, 490. negotiated with to receive Charles I. upon his escape from Hampton-court, *ib.*

INDEX.

- brought to the king, 491. removes him to Carisbrook castle, 492. lord Clarendon's opinion of this whole business, *ib.* removes the king's old servants from about him, 509. imprisons Burly for attempting to stir up the people of the island in the king's favour, 511. removed from the charge of the king's person, vi. 203.
- Hammond, Dr. Henry**, one of the king's commissioners in matters relating to the church to treat at Uxbridge, v. 51. allowed to attend the king as one of his chaplains, 442. uncle of col. Hammond, 490.
- Harcourt, conte d'**, v. 380. arrives ambassador extraordinary from France, iv. 325—328. returns into France without any good effect to Charles I. 329. besieges Cambray, vi. 331. raised the siege, 332.
- Harding**, ——— iv. 534.
- Haro, Lewis de**, vi. 310, 356, 386. *n.* 387, *n.* vii. 346, 356, 359, 361. his intercourse with Charles II.'s ambassadors at Madrid, vi. 362, 364, 376, *n.* 378, 379, 390, 391, 459, 467. his private interview with them, 368, ran several courses with the king in the public races, 369. one of the council of state, 382. his character, 383. vii. 350. was an absolute favourite of the king, *ib.* his origin, *ib.* the ambassadors expostulate with him about an agent of the parliament sent into Spain, 442. his answer, *ib.* they write to him about the murder of this agent, 445. his answer, *ib.* his speech to them concerning it, 449. he and cardinal Mazarine meet at Fuentarabia, to settle a treaty between Spain and France, vii. 341, 344. advises Charles II. to attend, 345. was against the earl of Bristol accompanying him, 347. who however wrought himself into his good graces, 361. how far the cardinal had the advantage over him, 349. an account of the close of this treaty in respect of Portugal and the prince of Condé, as settled by them, 349—355. his treatment of king Charles, 359. died soon after this business, 357, 506, *n.*
- Harris, major-general**, v. 304.
- Harrison, colonel, W.** vii. 429. a member of the house of commons, notwithstanding the self-denying ordinance, v. 430. conducted Charles I. from Hurst castle to St. James's, vi. 219—223. his origin and character, *ib.* much trusted by Cromwell, 220. was in favour of the king's being publicly tried, 226. removed from the army by Cromwell, vii. 204.
- Harry**, (see Henry.)
- Harvey**, ——— iv, 188.
- Hasdunck**, ——— v. 279.
- Haslerig, sir Arthur**, i. 329, 418, 484. iv. 460. vii. 377. prefers a bill in the house of commons for the attainder of the earl of Strafford of high treason, i. 397. and another for settling the militia, 486. the tool of his party, 397, 486. one of the five members of the commons accused of high treason by the king's order, ii. 124, 604. farther particulars relating to the charge, 125, 130, 147, 156, 161, 162, 164, 169, 184, 192, 606, 229, 258, 276, 280, 306, 316, 342, 449, 459, 477, 548. iii. 44, 156, 618. his regiment of horse, so completely armed, as to be called lobsters, iv. 121.

INDEX.

- and were the first that made any impression on the king's horse, *ib.* wounded in the battle of Roundway-down, and his impenetrable regiment routed, 134. 609. is readmitted into the house of commons by virtue of a clause in the petition and advice, vii. 218, 219. having been excluded for refusing to sign the recognition of the protector, *ib.* the petition and proposals of Lambert's army discovered to him, 367, 368. acquaints the parliament with it, *ib.* what measures he and Vane, the heads of the republic party, induced parliament to adopt, 369—373. appointed in consequence one of the seven commissioners to govern the army, 370. his character, 373. he, Walton, and Morley go to Portsmouth, upon Lambert's dispersing the parliament, and are well received, 376. he and Morley were looked upon as invested with the authority of parliament, 388. they march towards London, 390. the soldiers in London, in consequence, restore the parliament, *ib.* general Monk conversed most freely with him, 440.
- Hassel, — iv. 70, 75.
- Hastings, Ferdinando lord, afterwards sixth earl of Huntingdon, ran away from the battle of Edge-hill, iii. 301. (as earl of Huntingdon,) one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632.
- Hastings, colonel Henry, made sheriff of Leicestershire, to retain it in obedience to the king, iii. 145. his services there, 453, 454. present at the battle of Edge-hill, 453.
- Hastings, sir Walter, governor of Portland, surprised Weymouth, v. 138.
- Hatton, sir Christopher, afterwards lord, notice of, iii. 551. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 633. one of the king's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 37. had been made a lord, 38. resident at Paris, vii. 124.
- Hawkesley-house taken by the king's forces, v. 178.
- Hawkins, colonel, iv. 554.
- Hawley, sir Francis, iii. 199.
- Hay, sir Francis, one of the officers taken with the marquis of Mountrose and executed, vi. 421.
- Hayward, — i. 437.
- Hazienda, president de la, vi. 463.
- Heath, sir Robert, ii. 344. for what purpose made lord chief justice, iii. 344.
- Hedworth, John, signed the anabaptists' address to Charles II. vii. 266.
- Hedworth, Randolph, signed the anabaptists' address to Charles II. vii. 266.
- Hemflet, — vi. 324.
- Henderson, Alexander, iii. 507, 508. iv. 285. one of the Scotch commissioners to treat at Rippon, i. 275. goes with the commissioners to London, 331. crowds go to hear him and the other chaplains preach, 331, 334, *n.* meddled much in temporal affairs, ii. 25. presents the petition of the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland to Charles I. iii. 408, 500. and carries the answer back, 509. one of the commissioners to treat at Uxbridge in matters

INDEX.

relating to the church, v. 37, 45, 51. his speech, 52. sent to dispute with the king concerning church government, 408. the king too hard for him, 409. partly convinced of the mischief he had been the author of, *ib.* dies shortly after, *ib.*

Henly, James, ii. 317.

Henrietta, wife of Charles I. mentioned as queen, i. 369, 454, 473. ii. 12, 13, 40, 53, 590, 63, 112, 230, 234, 263, 307, 461, 463, 530, 546, 558. iii. 46, 592, 595, 174, 175, 611, 192, 357, 476, 507, 519. iv. 30. 132. 608. 223, *n.* 261, 264, 333, *n.* 350. v. 158, *n.* 346, 350, 351, 366, 448, 523, 527, 555, 556. vi. 21, and *n.* 47, 80, 399, 471, 543, 558, 560, 566, 567, 579, 581, 590. vii. 64, 346, 362. viii. 74, 75, 213. her influence obtains the secretaryship for sir H. Vane, i. 222. what was thought of her recommendation to the catholics to contribute money for carrying on the war against the Scots, 263. said by the king to have recommended him to call the parliament in 1640. 273. her great power with the king complained of by the Scotch commissioners, 277. and generally disliked, 294. neither archbishop Laud nor the earl of Strafford acceptable to her, *ib.* withdraws her favour from the earl of Holland, *ib.* present at the trial of the earl of Strafford, 382. becomes odious to the people. ii. 3, 23. the earl of Holland, who had been her creature, and whom she had preserved from destruction, neglects her, 13, 598. still courted by some, and why, 13. charged by some with

fomenting the rebellion in Ireland, 23, 236. deserted by lady Carlisle, who revealed all she knew about her or the king, 598. 603. three thousand pounds raised for the king's use by the sale of her jewels, 81. notice of her in the parliament's remonstrance, 1642. 185—188. full of fears, chiefly on hearing of an intention of accusing her of high treason, 230, 231. the object of this rumour, 231, 232. compelled to sell her plate to supply her wants, 233. persuades the king to sign the bill depriving the bishops of their votes in the house of lords, 248. lord Digby's letter to her opened by the house of commons, 256. goes to Holland, 233, 262. mention of her in the parliament's declaration, 1642. 275. 276. made the king promise to remove the earls of Essex and Holland from their situations, 327, 331. purchases arms and ammunition in Holland for the king, 426. with what difficulty, iii. 102. her capuchin friars sent back to France by parliament, 237. returns to England, 445. the danger she escaped, *ib.* parliament thought to have wished her death, *ib.* her chapel and lodgings plundered by authority of parliament, iv. 20. sends a supply of arms and ammunition to Oxford, 601. impeached by the house of commons for aiding the king in the war, 56. joins the king near Keinton, 137, *n.* 138, 139. bringing a great recruit, 139. was against the king's attempting the siege of Gloucester, 196. from what motives, 201. the earl of Holland again

I N D E X.

offers his service to her, 208. Jermyn prevails with her to accept it, *ib.* how many paid court to her, 261. how she behaved towards the earl of Holland upon his arrival at Oxford, 263. lived in Merton college, *ib.* why offended with the marquis of Hertford, 264. chooses the conte d'Harcourt to be the French ambassador to negotiate between the king and the parliament, 326. whatever was done by papists was ascribed to her zeal for her religion, 365. the court at Oxford and its expense much increased by her, 395. retires from Oxford to Exeter, 466. delivered of a daughter there, 507. and from thence to France, 522. lord Percy made a baron upon her intercession, 531. prevailed with the king to make sir A. Aston governor of Oxford, being a Roman catholic, 550. solicitous for O'Neile to be made groom of the bedchamber, v. 99, 100. her and the king's letters fell into their enemies' hands at the battle of Naseby, 186. garbled and published by them, *ib.* cardinal Richelieu prevented her going into France, when she first went abroad, 347. admitted there by cardinal Mazarine on her leaving England a second time, 349. advised the king to promise the Scotch to establish presbyterianism in England, 352, 406. her letter to the chancellor of the exchequer concerning the prince of Wales's removal into France, 363. the lords Capel and Colepepper sent to dissuade her from sending for the prince into France, 367.

how far prevailed upon, 369, 380. why not disposed that any money arrangement should be settled for the prince, 370, n. lord Digby's transactions with her and cardinal Mazarine in France, 375. sends for the prince, 397. sir W. Davenant sent by her to the king to persuade him to give up the church, 411. sir J. Berkley sent from her to him, 447. gained over by the Scottish commissioners, 527. vi. 132. how she treated the prince at Paris, v. 554, 555. lord Jermyn her chief officer, 555. the earl of Holland, designing to rise with the duke of Buckingham and others, again countenanced by her, vi. 6. the prince disposed by her to depend wholly upon the presbyterian party, 37. the countess of Carlisle gains confidence again with her, 66. sends a paper to be delivered to the parliament, upon the report of what they intended against the king, but it was laid aside, 213. her first message to the prince, as king, 269. who resolved not to resign himself entirely to her governance, *ib.* why she coldly received the marquis of Mountrose, notwithstanding his services in the royal cause, 284. why some urged and others dissuaded the king's seeing her on his intended journey to Ireland, 307, 308. the chancellor not at all in her favour, 312, and n. and why, 329. why angry at the king's project of going into Ireland, *ib.* her interview with him at St. Germain's, 332, 333. he tells her plainly that he would not

INDEX.

be governed by her, 333. Mr. Elliot, though under great obligations, had little reverence for her, 334, 335. the chancellor of the exchequer's private audience with her, 336, 337. not solicitous for the king's stay in France, as she could not have the dominion over him, 352. removes to the Louvre, 354. against the chancellor of the exchequer's going as ambassador into Spain, 354. *n.* her opinion of his talents and loyalty, *ib.* anecdote to his credit of a conversation of her's, *ib.* advises the king to agree with the Scots upon their terms, and why, 400, 401. why lord Cottington was ungracious to her, 460. the king left the duke of York with her, with direction to conform himself to her will, 471. too large an establishment assigned him by her, 473. complains to the chancellor of the foolish marriage scheme proposed to the duke of York by two of his counsellors, 478, 479. Dr. Cosins forbid to officiate to the protestants in her family, 480. the chancellor speaks to her about it, *ib.* her answer, 481. how she received the duke of York and his counsellors, 484. her pecuniary difficulties, 542, 568. lord Jermyn appointed by the king one of his new council, to please her, 561. earnestly presses for sir John Berkley to be made one also, 562. not granted, *ib.* why countenanced the king's attending the Hugonot church, 571. how her prejudice against the chancellor of the exchequer was in-

creased, 575, 576. his intended behaviour towards her, 580. supposed to have countenanced the scheme of marrying the duke of York to mademoiselle de Longueville, 590. consults the chancellor about it, 591. instances of her displeasure against him, vii. 59, 62. though hitherto averse from sir Edward Herbert, she now recommends him to the king as lord keeper, who appoints him, 67. solicits that Mr. Long, one of her creatures, might be restored to the secretaryship of state, 69, 70. is refused, 70. prevails with the king to send her son, the duke of Gloucester to her at Paris, 88. and to leave him with her, 91. at the king's desire the chancellor had an audience with her, 92, 93. countenances the endeavours to pervert the duke of Gloucester in his religion, 120. is obliged to let him go to the king, who had sent for him in consequence, 123. at cardinal Mazarine's request sent lord Jermyn to invite the king into France, when his restoration was probable, 493. had lately persuaded the king to make lord Jermyn earl of St. Alban's, *ib.* had been instrumental to the renewal of the treaty of peace between the royal party and the confederate catholics in Ireland, viii. 70. bishop Warburton's notices of and censures on her interference in public affairs, *W.* i. 247, 478. ii. 64, 98, 232, 234. iii. 443. iv. 196, 261, 263, 265, 299, 365. v. 259, 369. vi. 80, 132, 213, 269, 329, 570. charged by

- him of advising the king to accuse lord Kimbolton and the five members of the house of commons, ii. 232. and of being a bigotted papist, v. 90. and of absolutely governing the king, *ib.* the bishop considers Richelieu's estimate of her character to be correct, v. 347. the bishop's severe expressions against her, 411. vi. 65. his declarations of her adulterous commerce with Jermyn, 554. vi. 192, 352, 401, 570. his observation on the real cause of her animosity to lord Clarendon, vii. 95.
- Henrietta, princess, daughter of Charles I. vi. 568. vii. 235. born at Exeter, iv. 507. v. 471, *n.* privately conveyed by her governess, the countess of Morton, into France, v. 471, *n.* vii. 84. married the duke of Orleans, iv. 507.
- Henry III. iii. 279. vii. 481.
- Henry IV. i. 395. ii. 431, 435, 514. iii. 90.
- Henry IV. king of France, vi. 508.
- Henry VI. i. 385.
- Henry VII. i. 385, 500. ii. 252, 397, 536. iii. 31. vi. 244. vii. 195, 215.
- Henry VIII. i. 96, 396, 420. vi. 243.
- Henry, prince, son of James I. i. 32. iii. 271. vi. 253.
- Henry, prince of Orange, (see Orange.)
- Herbert, — of the king's bed-chamber, *W.* vi. 229.
- Herbert, sir Edward, i. 518, (as attorney-general,) ii. 459, 460. vi. 140, 321. *W.* i. 235. vi. 63. solicitor-general, i. 235. his part in the debate in the house of commons concerning grievances, *ib.* notice of, 518. opposes Mr. Hyde's question on the king's proposition to parliament respecting ship-money, 244. misrepresents the proceedings of parliament in this business to the king, 245. his general conduct in parliament, 368. made attorney-general, *ib.* in which capacity he accuses lord Kimbolton, and five members of the house of commons, of high treason, by the king's command, ii. 124. a committee appointed by the house of commons to prepare a charge against him for having accused their five members, 170. the commons examine him, 174. his answer, *ib.* they vote a charge against him, *ib.* impeached by them, 258. the king's letter in his favour prejudicial to him, 342. differences between the lords and commons respecting council being allowed him, 343. his defence, 344. decision of the lords in his favour, 345. altered to please the commons, 346. had more influence than any person over prince Rupert, vi. 63. vii. 66. farther notice of him, *ib.* concerned in the divisions among the prince of Wales's court, 79, 82. causes the prince to undervalue lord Hopton, 82. cultivates prince Rupert's prejudice against lord Colepepper, 127. an instance of it, 128, 129. he and sir George Ratcliff have great interest with the duke of York, 474. concerned in the factions in the duke's family, 483, 558. what led lord Jermyn to court him, both being hitherto enemies to each other, vii. 66. his declaration respecting lord Jermyn, *ib.* made lord keeper at

INDEX.

- the queen's solicitation, 67. how qualified for the post, 68. why he and Jermyn advised Mr. Long to petition to be restored to the secretaryship, 69. his opinion as to the chancellor of the exchequer's having conversed with Cromwell, 72. accuses the chancellor of having spoken ill of the king, 73. produces lord Gerrard to prove it, *ib.* ill satisfied with the result, 76. partly instrumental in making prince Rupert leave Charles II. and go into Germany, 89. resigns the great seal to the king, 91. and never afterwards saw him, *ib.*
- Herbert of Ragland, Edward Somerset, lord, afterwards earl of Glamorgan, and subsequently second marquis of Worcester, iii. 462, 466, 467, 468. iv. 114. (as earl of Glamorgan,) viii. 49. made general of South Wales, iii. 462. observations on this appointment, 463. a subject of complaint by parliament, 404. who request he may be removed from court, 406. raises a little army, 465. is surprised by sir William Waller, and routed, 467. persuaded to decline the command of Wales, iv. 181. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, 463.
- Herbert, Henry lord, afterwards duke of Beaufort, one of the committee sent by parliament to wait on Charles II. at the Hague, vii. 499.
- Hereford and Tewkesbury taken by sir William Waller: both which he presently left, iii. 468. Hereford taken again by sir William Waller, iv. 29.
- Hereford, Walter Deversaux, fifth viscount, one of the committee sent by the parliament to wait on Charles II. at the Hague, vii. 499.
- Hereford, bishop of, (see G. Coke.)
- Hertford, William Seymour, earl of, afterwards marquis of, and duke of Somerset, i. 424, 425. ii. 24, *n.* iii. 610, 416, 418, 461, 462. iv. 95, *n.* 105, 111, 115, 116, 126, 127, 607, 167, 168, 214, 269. v. 69, 495. vi. 108. vii. 81. *W.* iv. 173. sworn one of the new privy-counsellors, i. 341. made a marquis, 424. made governor to the prince of Wales, ii. 244. ordered by parliament not to suffer him to go out of the country, 173. his character, 244, 245. iii. 540. iv. 172, 173. and previous conduct, ii. 244, 245. concurred not in the proceedings against the earl of Strafford, although he had no affection for him, 244. his reason for accepting the office of governor, 246. carried the prince to the king at Greenwich by his command, though prohibited by parliament, 262. one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 71, 571. appointed by the king his lieutenant-general of all the western parts, 119. sent thither, 181. his actions in Somersetshire, 196, 608. retires to Sherborne, 201. the earl of Bedford comes against him, 202. his challenge to fight not accepted by the earl, iv. 204. his proceedings in the west, 225. thence transports himself into Glamorganshire, 226. he and prince Maurice, as his lieutenant-general, with their

INDEX.

forces, join the Cornish army at Chard, iv. 107. whither they had been sent by the king, 105, 601. bishop Warburton's observation on this appointment, *W.* iv. 162. prince Rupert's jealousy the cause of this appointment, iv. 602. which was unlikely to produce good effects owing to the peculiar character of prince Maurice, 603. takes Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunstar castle, 101. some jealousy between him and prince Maurice, 112. he and the prince prepare their march for Oxford, 114. followed by sir W. Waller, 114, 115, 116, 119, 120, 121. beat sir W. Waller in the battle of Lansdown, 122—124, 605. they come to Oxford, 129. return to Bath, 141, 611, jealousies between him and prince Rupert, 162. 606, 616. sir Ralph Hopton firmly devoted to him, 167. why removed from the army to attend the king, 171, 172. against his inclination, 172. observations on this change, *ib.* bishop Warburton's comment upon it, *W.* iv. 322. difference between him and prince Maurice relative to appointing sir A. A. Cooper governor of Weymouth, iv. 220. the king with difficulty persuaded by the chancellor of the exchequer to gratify the marquis, 225. returns to the king at Oxford, 225, 264. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, 632. one of the king's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 37. attended Charles I.'s funeral, vi. 241. the garter conferred on him by Charles II. on his restoration, vii. 81. dies shortly

after, vi. 244. according to bishop Warburton, nobody at that time but the marquis entertained right ideas respecting church government, *W.* v. 56. Hertford, (Frances Devereux,) marchioness of, iv. 552. Hesse, landgrave of, contributed not to the subsidy granted by the diet in Germany to Charles II. though under obligations to James I. and Charles I. vii. 106. Hesse Darmstadt, Elizabeth Amelia, daughter of George II. landgrave of, married the duke of Newburgh, vii. 118. Hewet, (Huet,) Dr. tried before a high court of justice for sending money to Charles II. vii. 246. refused to plead, 247. condemned, 251. executed, 252. notice of him, *ib.* lord Falconbridge and his wife, a daughter of Cromwell, interceded for him in vain, 253. Hewson, colonel, suppresses a rising of the city apprentices, vii. 388. Heydon, sir John, lieutenant of the ordnance to Charles I. iii. 194, 264. Heylin, — *W.* i. 171. Higgins, — viii. 167, 168. High-commission court, dissolved by act of parliament, i. 439, 495. its origin and object, 496. how it had exceeded its bounds, 497. High court of justice, constituted by the commons for trial of Charles I. vi. 216. Bradshaw its president, 217. lawyers and other officers appointed, 218. proceedings, 230, 231. disturbance in the court by lady Fairfax, 233. a new high court of justice sits, 252. duke Hamilton, earls of Holland and Norwich, lord Capel, and sir J. Ow-

INDEX.

- en, tried and condemned, 252
—255. a high court of justice erected to try persons holding correspondence with Charles Stuart, vii. 28. Mr. Gerard and Mr. Vowel tried, *ib.*
- Hill, colonel Arthur, iii. 477.
- Hinchman, Dr. prebendary of Salisbury, meets Charles II. in his flight after the battle of Worcester, on Salisbury plains, and conducts him to Heale, Mrs. Hyde's house, vi. 540, 541.
- Hippesly, sir John, i. 54.
- Hispaniola, the English fleet under Pen, and the troops under Venables, unsuccessful in an attempt upon, vii. 176, 177.
- Hobbes, Thomas, a legacy left him by Sidney Godolphin, in esteem of his great parts, not his principles, *W.* v. 431.
- Hochstraten, village, notice of, vii. 287.
- Hochstraten, count of, owner of the village of that name, vii. 287. one of the greatest nobles in the duchy of Brabant, *ib.*
- Holland, the privilege allowed to the English ambassador of voting in the States General discontinued, i. 115. how long permitted, *ib.* Holland entered into a close correspondence with the Scotch covenanters, 223. the States hostile to Charles I. and favourable to the parliament, iii. 102. substance of the declaration of the parliament to the States General, 354. the prince of Wales desires the States to intercede with parliament for his father, vi. 211. their answer, 212. they send an ambassador, 213. who was not admitted to an audience till after his death, 214.
- the States condole with Charles II. on his father's murder, 268. circumstances that made Charles II.'s departure from Holland necessary, 297. he delivers a memorial to the States, 300. the States unwilling that he should return to the Hague, 401. or that the duke of York should remain there, 483. invited by the English parliament to a strict union, 594. without effect, 596. thereupon the act of navigation passed against them, 596. their ships ordered in consequence not to strike to the English, 598. a war begun on this account, *ib.* the message of the States to parliament, 599. their answer, 600. Blake takes their fishing busses, and their guard ships, 601. sir G. Ayscue takes or sinks thirty sail of their merchants, *ib.* and fights their fleet near Plymouth, *ib.* Charles II. proposes that he should join his interest with theirs, 603. they thank him, but decline his proposal, 605. their fleet beaten by Blake, 606. they send again to the parliament for peace, *ib.* Cromwell never zealous for this war, but governed in it by Saint-John, 607. their fleet beaten again, 1653. vii. 21. they send four commissioners to treat of peace with the protector, 22. how received, *ib.* their fleet again beaten, and their admiral, Van Trump, slain, 23. Cromwell makes peace with them, 25. the States General congratulate the king's coming to Breda; and the States of Holland invite him to the Hague, 495. his reception and entertainment there, 497. the fisheries on the coasts of

Scotland and the isles of Orkney, a source of great trade to Holland, vi. 601.

Holland, Henry Rich, first earl of, i. 280, 486, 501. ii. 18, 579, 591, 243. iii. 140, 143, 156. iv. 206, 271. vi. 103, 403. *W.* ii. 444. his family, i. 110. served in the war in Holland, *ib.* became very acceptable to the duke of Buckingham, 111. whom he courted implicitly, *ib.* but his friendship was more entire to the earl of Carlisle, *ib.* had a fortune by his wife, Isabel Cope, *ib.* placed about the prince of Wales through the duke's interest, 112. made earl of Holland, *ib.* his other honours, *ib.* had the queen's good opinion, *ib.* and was consequently an enemy to the earl of Portland, *ib.* made general of the horse against the Scotch covenants, 202. his retreat from Dunce, 210. how he received the covenants' letter to him, 213. neither loved the marquis of Hamilton, Wentworth, nor archbishop Laud, 216. nor almost any thing then done in church or state, *ib.* challenged by the earl of Newcastle to fight, in consequence of an occurrence in the Scotch expedition, but declines, 221. not employed in the second Scotch expedition, 249. irreconcilable to the earl of Strafford, *ib.* and why, 265. one of the commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, 274. courted by the Scotch commissioners, 275. and gained over by them, 279. why the queen's favour was withdrawn from him, 294. appointed general to disband the armies after the second Scotch expedition, 477. the

misfortune of his appointment, 478. his conduct in consequence of the king's refusing to make some one a baron, ii. 2, 597. declares for the factious party, 12, 603. will not attend the king to Hampton-court, though groom of the stole, 163. and dissuaded the earl of Essex from attending, *ib.* sent to the king by the parliament, with their declaration, 287, 288. observations on his rise and conduct, 327. iii. 561. deprived of his office of groom of the stole, ii. 610, 611. presented the parliament's petition to the king at Beverley, iii. 123. the king's censure of him, 143. reasons of his rancorous hostility to the king, 144. one of the commissioners sent by parliament to the king with propositions of peace, 402. weary of the war, iv. 139. puts himself into the king's quarters, 193. it is debated how he should be received, 202. had from the time of the queen's return from abroad privately made offer of his service to her, and renewed his old friendship with Jermyn, 208. particulars respecting his going to Oxford, 200, *n.* 209, 210, 224, *n.* waited on the king at the siege of Gloucester, 211. behaved bravely in the battle of Newbury, 262. why displeased with his reception, 262, 263. did not act his part well, 265, 266. chancellor of the exchequer's advice to him, 267, 268. returns to the parliament's quarters, 270, 332, 333, *n.* committed to prison by parliament on his return, 336. prepares to rise with the duke of Bucks and others in favour

INDEX.

- of the king, vi. 5, 39, 40. goes to Kingston, 95. is routed there, 97. escapes to St. Neot's, where he is taken, 98. tried by a new high court of justice, 252, 253. condemned, 255. his petition for his life rejected by the commons, chiefly through Cromwell's animosity, 257. beheaded, 262. his behaviour, *ib.* bishop Warburton's bad opinion of him, *W.* i. 221. ii. 2. iii. 485. according to the bishop, he lived like a knave, and died like a fool, *W.* i. 478. and was despicable in his intellectual, but more despicable in his moral faculties, *W.* ii. 144.
- Holland, sir John, one of the committee appointed by parliament to present their petition to the king at Beverley, iii. 123. one of their commissioners to treat with him, 486, 528. one of the committee sent by parliament to wait upon Charles II. at the Hague, 499.
- Hollis, Denzil, ii. 226. iii. 68, 616. *W.* iii. 82. his family, character, and conduct, i. 329. one of the leading men in the house of commons, 329, 347, *n.* how far trusted, 348, *n.* a plan of making him secretary of state, 314, 371, 445. not hostile to the church, 410. what advantage might have arisen from his being gained over, ii. 60. one of the five members of the commons accused of high treason by the king's order, 124, 604. further particulars relative to the charge, 125, 130, 147, 156, 162, 164, 169, 184, 192, 606, 229, 258, 276, 280, 306, 316, 342, 449, 459, 477, 548. iii. 44, 156, 618. sent down by parliament into the west with the earl of Bedford, iii. 202, 608. lieutenant of Bristol, 196. one of the parliament's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 36. his feeling with respect to the presbyterian and independent parties, 76. opposed the self-denying ordinance, 89. one of the leading members in the commons, 454. his insult to Ireton, 455. one of the eleven members impeached by the army, *ib.* Monk consults him and other leaders of the presbyterian party respecting Charles II.'s restoration, vii. 449. one of the committee sent by parliament to wait upon the king at the Hague, 499. according to bishop Warburton's comment, he abhorred the rebellion, *W.* ii. 443. also according to the bishop, urged the earl of Essex to pursue the king after the battle of Edge-hill. iii. 299.
- Hooker, Richard, iii. 8. *W.* v. 56. vi. 168.
- Hopton, sir Ralph, afterwards lord, iii. 200. iv. 149, 612, 194, 317, 395, 450, 451, 452, 482. v. 136, *n.* 149, 157, *n.* 195, 234, 241, *n.* 243, 244, *n.* 258, 271, 307, 317, 318, 332, *n.* 382, *n.* committed to the Tower by the commons for certain expressions relative to their declaration to the king, ii. 282. sent into the west to assist in forming an army for the king, iii. 120, 181, 608. arms a troop of dragoons at his own charge, 200. sent into Cornwall, 226, 418. his and sir B. Greenvil's progress there, 418—429, 521,

INDEX.

n. iv. 96, 600, 111, 116. beats the parliament's forces under Ruthen at Bradock-down, iii. 428. takes Saltash, 430. present at the defeat of the earl of Stamford at Stratton, iv. 98. his reputation in the west second to no man's, 111. wounded in the battle of Lansdown, 125, 126, 606, 610. looked upon as the soul of the western army, 127. particulars of his being appointed governor of Bristol, 163—167, 616. his regret respecting the differences that arose, 167. made baron Hopton of Stratton, 177. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, 633. his character, 425, n. 473. *W.* iv. 473. possesses himself of Winchester, iv. 448, 449. takes Arundel castle, 453. which is retaken by sir W. Waller, 457. weakened by the loss of colonel Boles's regiment, 456. 458, 459. joined by the earl of Brentford, 458. the closest friendship between them, 459. sir W. Waller has the advantage over him at Alresford, 426, 460. chiefly owing to sir A. Haslerig's *lobsters*, 460. much consulted by the king in military affairs, 471. made general of the ordnance, 530, n. 531. one of the prince of Wales's council, v. 11. sent to Bristol, 83, 124, 139. disparaged by lord Goring, 156, 243. the prince's council firm in his favour, 157. ordered by the king to command the forces under the prince, 190. sir R. Greenvil's jealousy of him, 270. who afterwards recommends him or the earl of

Brentford to command in chief, 305. he is appointed, 306. yet to the dissatisfaction of sir Richard Greenvil, 308. his movements, 310, 313. his forces routed at Torrington by sir T. Fairfax, 314. his movements afterwards, 315, 316. dissolves his army, 320, 321. goes to Scilly, 322, 359. remained in Jersey upon the prince of Wales's departure into France, 406. has a particular friendship for sir H. Killigrew, 425. attends the prince to join the fleet at Helvoetsluys, vi. 33. the only one of the prince's council of whom nobody spoke ill, 82. the king's ambassador in Spain, 382, n. Hopton-heath, the earl of Northampton slain there, having first vanquished the parliament's horse, iii. 458. Horner, sir John, iii. 197, 201. iv. 146. Horton, colonel, iv. 578. Hotham, sir John, ii. 16, 261, 445, 452, 618, 620. iii. 185. inveighs in parliament against the earl of Strafford, i. 302. what use made of him in the house, 329. why united with the factious party, 347, n. iii. 600. active for the bill to take away the court of York, i. 418. why, and on what occasion he supported Mr. Hyde in the house, ii. 45, 48. appointed by the parliament governor of Hull, 173, 181. differences respecting his conduct between the king and parliament, 351, 355, 378, 381, 386—389. 393—402, 416, 429, 434, 507, 509, 518, 523—532. 560. iii. 22—27, 76, 95, 120, 130, 137, 156, 161. particulars of his refusing the king

- admittance into Hull, ii. 382—386, 382, n. 608. his conduct approved of by parliament, 386, 398. lord Digby's transactions with him at Hull, iii. 162, 599. allows him and Ashburnham to escape, 168, 171, 609. notice of his character, 164. the parliament would have been absolute masters of Yorkshire but for his improper conduct, 441. executed with his son, by order of parliament, chiefly for corresponding with the marquis of Newcastle, v. 118, 119. bishop Warburton's remark on one particular of his conduct, *W.* iii. 161. and on a weak observation of lord Clarendon's respecting his death, *W.* v. 121.
- Hotham, the son, ii. 48. iii. 596. sent with his father by the parliament to Hull, ii. 181. who had more confidence in him than in his father, 397. iii. 163. and used him as a spy over him, iii. 163, 600. what his father said against him, 165, 599. cabals against his father, 170. infested Yorkshire, 435, 439. was against allowing a neutrality in that county, 438. executed with his father, chiefly for holding a correspondence with the marquis of Newcastle, v. 118, 119. bishop Warburton's censure of a remark of the historian's upon their death, *W.* v. 121.
- Howard of Charleton, Charles lord, afterwards second earl of Berkshire, one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632.
- Howard of Escrick, Edward lord, one of the king's commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, i. 274. coincided with others in the prosecution of archbishop Laud and the earl of Strafford, 321. one of the committee sent by parliament to be a check upon Charles I. in Scotland, 494. ii. 15. one of those sent with the parliament's answer to the king's message concerning Hull, 397. iii. 578. one of the few lords who attended parliament, iv. 403, 630.
- Howard, colonel Thomas, iv. 107, 119.
- Howard, William, signed the anabaptists' address to Charles II. vii. 266.
- Hudleston, — sent to Charles II. in his flight from Worcester, by Careless, and brings him to lord Wilmot, vi. 524. and to Mrs. Lane's house, 526.
- Hudson, — acted as guide to Charles I. through the by-ways from Oxford, when he put himself into the Scotch quarters before Newark, v. 394.
- Huet, (see Hewet.)
- Hugonots in France, declared enemies to Charles I. iii. 362.
- Hull, sir J. Hotham appointed governor of, by parliament, ii. 173, 181. differences between the king and parliament respecting this appointment, ii. 180, 181, 351, 355, 378, 381, 386—389, 393—402, 416, 429, 434, 507, 509, 518, 523—532, 560. iii. 22—27, 76, 95, 120, 130, 137, 156, 161. order of parliament concerning Hull, ii. 295. their petition to the king to remove the magazine from thence, 350. his answer, 351. the magazine removed notwithstanding, 356. particulars of sir J. Hotham's

I N D E X.

refusing the king admittance into Hull, ii. 382—386, 382, n. 608. his conduct approved of by parliament, 386, 398.

Hungary, Ferdinand III. king of, vii. 50.

Hungerford, sir Edward, iv. 605, 609.

Huntingdon, Henry Hastings, fifth earl of, iii. 453.

Huntingdon, sixth earl of, (see lord Hastings.)

Huntington, major, v. 484, 491. one of the best officers the parliament had, v. 484. on whom Cromwell relied more than any one, *ib.* made tender of his services to Charles II. vii. 432.

Hurry, (see Urry.)

Hutton, sir Richard, judge, notice of, v. 293.

Hutton, sir Richard, the son, v. 292. notice of, 293.

Hyde, captain, ii. 461.

Hyde, sir Edward, afterwards earl of Clarendon, i. 333, 334, 373, 374. ii. 18, 27, 76, n. 597, 494, n. iii. 591, 168, n. 245, n. 252, n. 255, n. 257, n. 630, 287, n. 559, n. (as chancellor of the exchequer,) 539, n. iv. 601, 603, 615, 209, 224, n. 264, 311, 396, n. v. 9, 79, n. 160, n. 168, 201, n. 234, 236, 270, 318, 324, 332, n. 333, n. 335, n. 383. vi. 23, n. 82, 84, 85, 127, 128, 140, 148, 151, n. 333, 479, 498, 572, 575, 603, 617. vii. 56, 64, 65, 66, 98, 135, 137, 148, 151, 435, 446, 452, *W.* i. 292. ii. 313, 438. iii. 434, 455. iv. 80, 138, 266, 306, 340, 582. v. 73, 242, 375, 379, 412. vi. 235, 292, 312. vii. 38. his object in writing the history of the rebellion, i. i. v. 129. his fitness for the undertaking, i. 4. what fallacy

runs through his history, according to bishop Warburton, *W.* i. 73. sat as member for Wotten-Basset in the first parliament of 1640. i. 233, n. his speech in the house about a supply to be granted to Charles I. in lieu of ship-money, 243. his regret at the dissolution of this parliament, 246. returned for a borough in Cornwall in the long parliament, 298, n. chairman of the committee respecting the bill against the court of York, 419, 421. obtains great credit for his speech upon it, 421. why he did not obtain a vote of thanks, as was proposed by the northern members, *ib.* *W.* in *loc.* by the earl of Bedford's desire, attempts to alter the earl of Essex's resolution with respect to the earl of Strafford, i. 422—426. but in vain, 426. importuned not to name the marquis of Hamilton as one of the king's evil counsellors, 481, 482. why made chairman of the committee concerning the bill for the abolition of episcopacy, 483. which he nevertheless materially obstructs, 483, 484. how far concerned in the intended prosecution of lord Finch, 523, 525. *W.* i. 311. and of sir H. Vane, *W.* i. 311. protests against the remonstrance of the house of commons being printed, ii. 43. in consequence of his service against the court of York, the northern members prevent his being prosecuted for protesting, 45, 46. his defence of himself, 47. and of Jeffery Palmer, 48. opposes a committee being appointed re-

INDEX.

specting the militia, 77. wished lord Digby to advise the king to appoint lord Falkland secretary of state, and sir J. Colepepper chancellor of the exchequer, 93, and *n.* with difficulty persuaded lord Falkland to accept the office, 95. his reasons for declining any office himself, 97. one of those called by the rabble disaffected to the kingdom, 103, *n.* the king declares he would do nothing concerning the house of commons without his, lord Falkland's, and sir J. Colepepper's advice, 98. lord Digby had been instrumental in promoting these three to the king's favour, 100. and had a great esteem for them himself, *ib.* the three discouraged, by the king prosecuting lord Kimbolton and five members of the commons without consulting them, 133. under great reproach for his friendship with lord Digby, 136, *n.* advised not to approve of the king's prosecution, *ib.* his speech notwithstanding, 139, and *n.* one of those most trusted in the commons by the king, 493. had a great friendship with lord Falkland, 494. and a great respect for lord Littleton; *ib.* his conversation with him respecting the king's being dissatisfied with his conduct, 495—497. how far concerned in preventing the great seal from being taken away from him, and in inducing him to join the king at York, 488, *n.* 498—500. prepares the king's message for peace to parliament at the opening of the war, *iii.* 611. the king thanks him for the

style in which he had drawn it up, 622. yet laments to him that his council advised this step, *ib.* points out to the king the probable advantages of it, 623. one of those excepted by parliament from making peace with them on any terms, 240. joins the king at York, 245, *n.* (archbishop) Sheldon his friend, *ib.* accompanied the prince of Wales and duke of York out of the battle of Edge-hill, when it was doubtful, 633. the earl of Lindsey his friend, 287, *n.* made chancellor of the exchequer, (under which title he is hereafter mentioned,) 538, *n.* v. 38. the marquis of Hertford, his friend, *iii.* 541, *n.* and the earl of Southampton, 543, *n.* why entertained great kindness for the earl of Pembroke, 557. *n.* supposed to know as much as most men about the design of Mr. Waller and Mr. Tomkins, *iv.* 58. laments the death of viscount Grandison, 615. seldom spoke without some earnestness, 203. advises that the lords who came over to the king from parliament should be well received, *ib.* why very civil to the earl of Holland, 210, 211. with difficulty persuades the king to make sir A. A. Cooper governor of Weymouth in compliance with the wishes of the marquis of Hertford, 220—225. has not related the transactions in the northern parts, not being present, nor having any part in those counsels, 347. his expedients adopted, that the peers about the king should write to the council in Scotland 347, *n.* 348. the letter, 632. drawn up by him, 348,

INDEX.

n. and that a parliament should be summoned at Oxford of those members who had left that at Westminster, 347, n. 351. had a kindness for the earl of Leicester, 348, n. his firm persuasion that the king was not concerned in the rebellion of Ireland, 365. one of those appointed to investigate the accusations against duke Hamilton, 433. appointed one of the prince of Wales's council, v. 11. out of esteem for abp. Laud he advises the king to send him a pardon under the great seal, 33. one of the king's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, 37. prepared all the papers at the treaty, 47, n. the earl of Lowden in vain tries to prevail on him to persuade the king to give up the church, 47, 48. his answer to the earl's speech against episcopacy, 58. his comments to prove the king's counsels just, 63—65. much to the confusion of the parliament commissioners, 63. the earl of Pembroke in vain tries to persuade him that it was reasonable to consent to all the parliament demanded, 72. differed from the other commissioners about the militia, 78, n. troubled at being one in the king's intended list of those in whom he would consent to vest the power of the militia, 79, n. draws up prince Rupert's answer to the earl of Essex, 123, n. he was not usual to be reserved in sharpness, *ib.* why he resolved never to co-operate with lord Goring, 157, n. 158, n. notwithstanding his courteous deportment towards him, 158, n. charged by him with having said he was not

to be trusted, 194, n. one of the commissioners to inquire into the complaints against sir R. Greenvil, 163. unable to wait on the king in Wales, by reason of the gout, 230. his opinion as to the prince's sending a message of peace to Fairfax, 241, n. his conference with lord Goring, 242, n. remained in Jersey after the prince's departure into France, 406. Charles I.'s opinion of him, 412. sir H. Killigrew his intimate friend, 425. substance of the king's letter to him, 476. sent for to the prince from Jersey, vi. 20, 21. his and lord Cottington's capture before they joined the prince; 76—78. most esteemed of all the prince's council by prince Rupert, 151, n. sent by Charles II. to confer with the marquis of Mountrose in a village near the Hague, 285, 286. lady Aubigney his friend, 291, 292. his conference with duke Hamilton concerning the affairs of Scotland, 293. and with lord Cottington concerning the king's sending an embassy into Spain, 310. why disposed to go on this embassy, 312. the queen unfavourable towards him, 312, 329. he and lord Cottington appointed ambassadors, 313, and n. why the Scots rejoiced at his appointment, 313, n. the marquis of Mountrose's altered behaviour to him in consequence, 314, n. why others were sorry at it, *ib.* appointed to make a declaration relating to England, 318. which was laid aside owing to the different opinions upon it, 321, 323. the ambassadors begin their journey, 325. visit the

INDEX.

duke of Lorraine at Brussels, 326. proceed to Paris to wait on the king and queen, 331, 332. his private audience with the queen, 336, 337. her good opinion of his talents and loyalty, 354. *n.* anecdote to his credit of a conversation of her's, *ib.* the ambassadors begin their journey for Spain, 357—369. his account of certain public spectacles at Madrid, 369, *n.* an account of their audience, 378. they have a house assigned them, 381. their private audience and demands, 388. the answer they receive, *ib.* prince Rupert's letter to him, 390. his occupation there, *ib.* they are ordered by Charles II. to remain where they were, 405. their audience with the Spanish king, 406. they expostulate with don Lewis de Haro, respecting the reception of Ascham as the parliamentary agent in Spain, 442. they write to don Lewis about his murder, 445. are ordered by the Spanish king to leave Madrid, and why, 458, 459, 460. they have audience of leave, 464. he is dismissed very courteously, 467. in his passage through France he waits on the queen-mother, 468. speaks with her about Dr. Cosins's being forbid to officiate to the protestants in her family at Paris, 480. confers with Mr. Montague about it, 482. finds the duke of York at Breda, 483. sent for by the king at Paris, 542, 543. where he receives from him the account of his escape after the battle of Worcester, 543. his friendship with the marquis of Ormond, 557. without which he could not have borne what he did, 558. sir J. Berkley

tries to prejudice the duke of York against him, 560. one of the king's new council, 561. tries to dissuade sir J. Berkley from applying for the mastership of the wards, 563. who breaks with him, in consequence of the king's refusal to grant it, 565. his opinion as to the duke of York's going into the French army, 566. generally liked, 567. dissuades the king from attending the Hugonot church at Charenton, 573. appointed to make all the king's despatches for Scotland, 579. desires not to be employed, 580. the king's reply to him, 581. he submits, 582. the queen more prejudiced against him in consequence, 583. his natural prejudice against Scotland, 580, *n.* all failures in soliciting for places attributed to him, 587. the queen consults him about the marriage of the duke of York, 591. acted as secretary of state during the king's stay in France, vii. 56. his uneasy state there, 58. the queen is against him there, 59. a petition intended of the Scotch presbyterians by Balcarris and Frazier for his removal, *ib.* and of the Roman catholics also against him, 60. the king quashes them both, 61. designs to mortify him, 66, 69. accused by Mr. Long of having conversed with Cromwell, 70. lord keeper Littleton accuses him of having spoken ill of the king, 73. his defence, 74. the king declares that he took nothing ill that he had said, 76. forgives Mr. Long, 77. at the king's request, has an audience of the queen-mother, before his departure from

INDEX.

France, 92, 93. his discourse with the king about his going into Scotland, and his reply, 110. the queen ascribes to him the recall of the duke of Gloucester from her, 123. how far concerned in the discovery of the treachery of Manning, 151—154, 158. sent to Brussels to confer with don Alonzo de Cardinas, 225, 229. made lord chancellor, 236. was against the marquis of Ormond's going into England, 239. bishop Warburton's remark that lord Clarendon has fulfilled his declaration of preserving himself from the least sharpness from private provocation in the case of his mortal enemy lord Digby, *W.* i. 5. v. 371. a statement of his, relative to the first duke of Buckingham, corrected by the bishop, 60. why, according to the bishop, his history has lost much of its integrity, ii. 495. the bishop's remark on the effect of the papers Clarendon wrote in the king's name from York, iii. 460. his characters, according to the bishop, give the highest idea of the virtue and integrity and incomparable eloquence of this historian, 549. the bishop's explanation of an expression in his character of Hambden, iv. 95. the bishop considers him superior to all the Greek and Latin historians put together in his knowledge of human nature, 314. the bishop's notice of his veneration for courts, v. 383. the bishop's remark upon his not noticing the virtuous character of Charles I. vi. 249. the bishop's comment on the queen's dislike to him, vii. 95.

Hyde, sir Robert, sergeant, afterwards chief justice of the king's bench, vi. 540.

I.

Jamaica, city of, taken by Pen and Venables, vii. 178. Cromwell sends recruits there, 180.

James, — i. 437.

James I. i. 93, 96, 106, 107, 110, 113, 115, 148, 197, 350, 356, 420, 462. ii. 51, 104, 244, 417. iii. 123, 364, 539, 544, 559. iv. 520, 563. v. 549. vi. 234, 253, 428, 466. vii. 25, 106. viii. 7. *W.* ii. 195. his death, i. 6, 43. succeeded by Charles I. *ib.* state of the kingdom at that time, 6. though learned, yet fond of handsome persons and fine clothes, 17. quicksighted in discerning difficulties, and very slow in mastering them, 22. weary of his favourite, the earl of Somerset, he first noticed Mr. Villiers, (duke of Buckingham,) *ib.* the favours he conferred upon him, 18, 19. even allowed him to dispose of every public honour and office, 18. many thought that he grew weary of him, and had he lived, would have deprived him of his power, 19. *W.* i. 20. why not probable, i. 19. never well pleased with him after prince Charles's journey into Spain, 20, 32, 39. how his consent to the journey was obtained, 22, 32. his reasons against it, 27. usually called Buckingham, Stenny, and his son, Baby Charles, 30. calls a parliament after the prince's return from Spain, 33. offended also with Buckingham, as the cause of the earl of Middlessex's impeachment, 39, 40. his prophetic declaration to prince Charles and Buckingham con-

INDEX.

- cerning parliamentary impeachments, in consequence of their supporting that against the earl of Middlesex, 41. his weakness in still listening to Buckingham, and deserting the earl of Bristol, 42. libels circulated against him after his death, 43. the earl of Montgomery one of his favourites before the earl of Somerset, 104, 105. the felicity of the times before the long parliament of Charles compared with his reign, 132. he intended to have introduced the English liturgy into Scotland, 145. jealous at his first coming into England of those who had the reputation of great parts, 105. his partiality for the earl of Carlisle, 108. the earl of Holland got into his grace by the handsomeness of his person, 111. his observation on the insolence of the Scotch preachers, 153.
- James II. (see duke of York.)
- Jarvis, captain, iv. 552, 557.
- Jealousies arise among the king's principal officers about the government of Bristol, iv. 162.
- Jenkins, — vi. 154, n. 168.
- Jennings, Ralph, signed the anabaptists' address to Charles II. vii. 266.
- Jephson, captain, iv. 557.
- Jermyn, Jermin, Henry, first lord, and afterwards earl of St. Alban's, iv. 210. (as lord,) 263, 264, 351. v. 359, 365. vi. 325, 329, 569, 579, 608. *W.* i. 428, 439, 440. v. 446, 447. vi. 32, 473, 542, 570, 583, 588. fled the country, owing to the discovery of the communication between the court and army, i. 469, 471, 535. ii. 589. notice of his flight in the communications between the king and parliament, ii. 276, 286, 306, 458, 479, 557. being courted by the earl of Holland, he induces the queen to receive the earl again into favour, iv. 208. valued himself on the impossible faculty of pleasing all, and displeasing none, 210. made a baron, 263. wounded at Awborne chase, 233. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, 633. was governor of Jersey, v. 382. sent to Jersey to take the prince of Wales to the queen in France, 370, n. 382, 398. his and lord Digby's arguments in favour of the prince's going, 402. Charles I.'s opinion of his advice as to the church, 412. was the chief officer of the queen's household at Paris, 555. the earl of Holland renews his friendship with him, vi. 6. encourages the risings in England in favour of the king, 7. his efforts to have the command of the fleet, 32, 34. an instance of his covetousness as governor of Jersey, 352. appointed one of Charles II.'s new council to please the queen, 561. his feeling and conduct as to religion, 570. advises Charles II. to attend the Hugonot church at Charenton, 571, 572. active in the design of marrying the duke of York to mademoiselle de Longueville, 590, 591. in order to make a party against the chancellor of the exchequer, he courts sir E. Herbert, his avowed enemy, vii. 66. concerned in Mr. Long's affair to mortify the chancellor, 69, 72. went to

INDEX.

- the king with compliments from cardinal Mazarine, 364. advises that the duke of York should accept the offer of being made admiral of Spain, 365. cardinal Mazarine persuades the queen-mother to send him to invite the king into France, 493. made earl of St. Alban's, *ib.* according to bishop Burnet, the queen had a child by him, *W.* v. 554. bp. Warburton says he was kept by the queen, vi. 352.
- Jermyn, sir Thomas, ii. 59. iii. 550.
- Jersey reduced, sir G. Carteret being ordered by Charles II. to make conditions, after a brave defence of Elizabeth castle, vi. 608.
- Jesuits possess ascendancy in Germany over all other men, vii. 128.
- Jesus, bowing at his name forbidden by parliament, ii. 7.
- Jewels, (see Crown.)
- Inchiquin, Murrrough O'Brien, lord, afterwards earl of, v. 526. vi. 3, 142, 143, 146, 147, 270, 349. viii. 75, 87, 93, 102, 129. the English parliament possessed the province of Munster through his and lord Broghill's activity, v. 521. was president of that province, 524. holds a correspondence with the marquis of Ormond, 524. viii. 67. and invites him into Munster, viii. 67. concludes a cessation of arms with the confederate catholics, vi. 147, 340, *n.* the marquis of Ormond chiefly depended upon him, 341. is made by him lieutenant-general of the army, viii. 85. defeats a body of Jones's horse, 89. and a body of O'Neile's army, 92. confirmed in his intentions of serving the king, vi. 346. departs for Munster, 344. viii. 95. Cromwell marches into Munster against him, vi. 396. why unable to retain Munster against Cromwell, 397. viii. 108. jealousies against him, viii. 129.
- Independents; observations on the different conduct of the independent English and the presbyterian Scots, v. 541. bishop Warburton's opinion of the difference between the two parties, *W.* v. 354. how far, according to the bishop, both parties were concerned in overthrowing the constitution, vi. 207.
- Infanta of Spain, vi. 381.
- Ingoldsby, colonel, vii. 429. advised the protector Richard to remain firm to the parliament against the council of officers, vii. 310. removed in consequence by this council, 312. sent against Lambert by the parliament, 429. one of Lambert's troops revolt to him, 430. takes Lambert prisoner, 431. makes tender of his service to Charles II. 432. why the king was perplexed with his particular case, 489. anecdote of his having signed Charles I.'s death-warrant by compulsion, 490. bishop Warburton discredits this as an idle story, *W.* *in loc.*
- Innocent X. pope, vii. 63, 127. notice of his death, 124. had fomented the rebellion in England by cherishing that in Ireland, *ib.*
- Inspruck, archduke of, vi. 375, *n.*
- Instructions; the parliament's instructions to the earl of Essex their general, iii. 238. the lords Capel and Colepepper's instructions when sent to dissuade the king from sending

INDEX.

for the prince into France, v. 367. the Scotch commissioners' private instructions from Argyll's party, vi. 276.

Instrument of government, Cromwell installed protector by it, vii. 18.

Insurrection designed in England by Charles II.'s party, vii. 129.

John, don, of Austria, (see Juan.)

Jones, — vii. 139.

Jones, — obliged by the marquis of Ormond to raise his camp and retire into Dublin, viii. 87. lord Inchiquin beats a body of his horse, 89. sallies out of Dublin and beats the marquis, vi. 345. viii. 98. who however takes Ballysonan and prevents his pursuit, viii. 100, 101. and obliges him to raise the siege of Drogheda, 101.

Joyce, cornet, seized upon Charles I. at Holmby, v. 437—441.

Ireland, ii. 160, 606, 206, 221, 223, 227, 228, 230. iii. 511. v. 53. *W.* i. 254, 265. vii. 474. mention of in the communications and proceedings between the king and parliament, ii. 145, 146, 177, 204, 208, 217, 250, 254, 260, 275, 276, 286, 289, 291, 294, 297, 304, 311, 316, 318, 319, 323, 349, 352, 354, 387, 399, 419, 420, 454, 456, 457, 466, 470, 519, 522, 545, 553. iii. 136, 241. iv. 54, 354. its state before the long parliament of Charles I. i. 133. rebellion under sir P. O'Neil, ii. 19, 582. divers opinions respecting it, 583. insinuated by some that it was contrived by the king, or at least the queen, 23, 584, 67, 236. bp. Warburton's comment, *W.* ii. 23. proceedings against the insurgents, ii. 588. state of affairs, 67. money raised under pre-

tence of relieving Ireland, as the prosecution of the war was committed by the king to the parliament, 262. propositions for adventurers in Ireland, 297. a commission appointed, 300. the king offers to go in person to Ireland, 356. observations on this design, 373. Spain aided the rebellion there, iii. 358. state of it with respect to the differences between the king and parliament, 469—483. miserable condition of the army there, iv. 355. the address of the lords justices and council to the king upon the subject, 358. who is obliged to treat with the rebels, 362, 363. a cessation of arms concluded, 364. disowned by parliament, *ib.* the letter from parliament to the lords justices and council on the subject, 366. their answer, 369. notice of the condition of Ireland, 422, *n.* propositions of peace rejected by the king, v. 5. discussion respecting Ireland, by the commissioners for a treaty at Uxbridge, 61. the Irish prisoners allowed no quarter by the parliament, 121. the affairs in Ireland in 1647. 521. the marquis of Ormond transports himself out of England into France, 522. the reasons that moved him to go again into Ireland, 524. the affairs of Ireland during lord Lisle's being there, vi. 2. the affairs of the marquis of Ormond and lord Inchiquin there, 141. an account of the affairs of the Irish about this time, 143. the characters of Preston and O'Neile their chief generals, 145. the pope's nuncio commands the Irish, 147. the marquis of Or-

INDEX.

mond arrives at Kinsale, and the nuncio leaves Ireland, *ib.* an account of the affairs in Ireland after the marquis's return, 340. he blocks up Dublin, 344. the lord Inchiquin departs from him for Munster, *ib.* recruits land at Dublin from England, *ib.* Jones sallies out of Dublin, and beats the marquis's army, 345. Cromwell made by the English parliament lord lieutenant of Ireland, 346. provides forces for his going thither, 349. arrives at Dublin, 350. which delays Charles II.'s intended voyage to Ireland, 351. state of affairs, 1649. 395. Tredagh taken by storm, 396. Cromwell marches into Munster, *ib.* his success there, 397. Charles II. gives over the thought of going into Ireland, *ib.* state of affairs, 1650. 423. the English parliament refuse to ratify Monk's treaty with Owen O'Neill, 426. Cromwell gives the Irish leave to enter into any foreign service, 428. state of affairs, 1651. 545. Ireton made lord deputy by Cromwell, 546. the marquis of Ormond's condition there, *ib.* Owen O'Neill died, as he was going to join him, 548. a mutiny in Limerick, whence the marquis escaped, 549. the popish bishops make an assembly, and publish a declaration against the English, 550. they declare to the marquis of Ormond that they will no longer submit to him; and require him to commit the government to a Roman catholic, 551. he in consequence makes the marquis of Clanrickard his deputy, 554. and goes to France, and

waits on the king at Paris after his escape from Worcester, *ib.* Ireton dies in Limerick of the plague, 612. Ludlow succeeds him in the charge of the army, *ib.* the ill condition of the marquis of Clanrickard's affairs, 614. the rebels resolve to invite the duke of Lorraine into Ireland, *ib.* commissioners sent to him to Brussels, 616. he sends an abbot into Ireland to be informed of the state of it, 617. the marquis of Clanrickard renounces any consent to the treaty, 618. the abbot returns to the duke, who gives over the negociation, 620. the marquis discovers a correspondence managed by a friar between the popish Irish clergy and Ludlow, 621. he sends the earl of Castlehaven to give an account of all to the king, 622. who sends him leave to retire, *ib.* state of Ireland under the protector, vii. 33, 169. its affairs for some years past till 1660. 473. notice respecting property purchased in Ireland by the city of London, ii. 151, 152. Lord Clarendon's preface to his Short View of the State and Condition of Ireland, viii. 1. the occasion of this treatise, 3. the happy condition of Ireland before 1640. 5. the seeds of the civil war there, 8. the massacre, 9. the Irish not generally concerned in it, 18. a foul stratagem of theirs, in pretending the king's approbation of the rebellion, 12. the fatal consequences of it, *ib.* the cruel prosecution of the war by the parliament, 15. the gentle methods taken by his majesty, 16. the courage and conduct of

INDEX.

the marquis of Ormond, lord lieutenant, *ib.* the battle of Kilrush, 17. the battle of Rosse, *ib.* the Irish petition for a treaty, 18. a cessation agreed to, *ib.* the high demands of the Romanists, 20. the cessation continued, 21. his majesty's good advice to the catholic commissioners, 22. the treaty ineffectual, 24. the ruin of his majesty and his kingdoms, *ib.* an assembly of the confederate catholics in the year 1645. 25. appoint commissioners for a new treaty, *ib.* articles signed, *ib.* the lord lieutenant invited to Kilkenny, 26. consequences of the treaty obstructed by the Irish catholic clergy, 27. proceedings of their assembly at Waterford, *ib.* which occasioned popular tumults, particularly in Limerick, 28. where the magistrates are displaced, *ib.* these disorders supported by an army under Owen O'Neal, who endeavours to surprise the lord lieutenant, 29. the assembly at Waterford declares the peace void, 30. the nuncio assumes the supreme power, *ib.* his exercise of it, *ib.* Owen O'Neal enters the queen's county, 31. strange decree of the Irish catholic clergy, 32. strange writing of the titular bishop of Ossory, 34. the laity more moderate, 35. but disappointed by the assembly's decree of excommunication, 35. 36. the nuncio marches two armies to Dublin, 37. haughty propositions to the lord lieutenant, 38. the difficulties he lay under, 39. is obliged to treat with the parliament, 41. which more inclines the Irish to peace, 42. but heightens the

parliament commissioners, *ib.* jealousies of the Irish, 44. removed by the marquis of Clanrickard, *ib.* the Irish general Preston and his officers enter into an engagement, 45. the marquis of Clanrickard made general of the army, 46. defection of Preston's officers, 47. the marquis reduced to great hardships, 48. strange proceedings of the general assembly, *ib.* the royal cause rendered desperate, 49. reasons for putting Dublin into the hands of the English rather than of the Irish, 50. the design of separating Ireland from England entertained by some, 51. his majesty's instructions to the lord lieutenant, 52. who proposes to deliver Dublin to the English rebels, 54. which alarms the Irish confederates, *ib.* their overture to him, 55. message from O'Neal to him, *ib.* his character, 56. he writes to the supreme council for a cessation, *ib.* his advice how received, *ib.* the lord lieutenant constrained to deliver up Dublin, &c. to the English rebels, and leave Ireland, 57. false aspersions on him, *ib.* vindication of him, 58. treachery of the English army, 61. the lord lieutenant waits on his majesty, and acquaints him with his care for his majesty's service, 62. original of the duke of Hamilton's engagement, 63. the rebels more strictly confine the king, 64. violate their articles with the lord lieutenant, *ib.* and banish him from London, 65. and give orders to seize him, *ib.* he secretly leaves England, and arrives in France,

INDEX.

ib. projects again to visit Ireland, *ib.* lord Inchiquin invites him into Munster, 67. the confederate catholics make war against the nuncio, *ib.* and besiege him in Galway, *ib.* the nuncio compelled to fly from Ireland, 68. memorial to the pope against him, *ib.* the lord lieutenant in vain solicits supplies from France, 74. arrives in Ireland with a small retinue, *ib.* reasons for his return, vi. 524. writes to the assembly at Kilkenny, viii. 75. commissioners sent to treat with him, 76. invited to Kilkenny by the assembly, *ib.* peace concluded, 77. lord lieutenant's speech to the assembly, 78. O'Neal refuses to submit to the peace, 82. the many difficulties the lord lieutenant had to struggle with, 83. borrows money of the towns, 85. promotions in the army, *ib.* earl of Castlehaven takes some of O'Neal's garrisons, 86. rendezvous of the army, *ib.* the lord lieutenant takes Talbot's town and Castle Talbot, 87. and Kildare, *ib.* obliges Jones to raise his camp, *ib.* council of war, *ib.* resolve to attempt the taking of Dublin, 88. the lord lieutenant marches towards Dublin, *ib.* lord Inchiquin defeats a body of Jones's horse, 89. takes Drogheda, 90. O'Neal acts in concert with the English rebels, 91. Inchiquin defeats a body of O'Neal's army, 92. takes Dundalk, *ib.* and reduces other garrisons, *ib.* O'Neal relieves the English rebels in Londonderry, *ib.* lord lieutenant reviews his army, 93. encamps at Rathmines, *ib.* supplies to the rebels arrive at

Dublin, 94. Inchiquin sent into Munster, 95. attempt to take and fortify Baggatrath, 96. the fatal battle of Rathmines, 97. after this defeat the lord lieutenant retires to Kilkenny, 100. takes Ballysonan in his march, *ibid.* which prevents Jones's pursuit, 101. obliges Jones to raise the siege of Drogheda, *ib.* receives advice of Cromwell's landing at Dublin, *ib.* provides for the defence of Drogheda, *ib.* Cromwell takes Drogheda by assault, and puts the garrison to the sword, 102. besieges Wexford, 105. the place betrayed by the Irish governor of the castle, *ibid.* the garrison basely murdered, *ib.* the lord lieutenant treats with O'Neal, 108. the towns in Munster revolt to the English rebels, *ib.* Cromwell marches towards Wexford, 110. why the lord lieutenant did not fight Cromwell's army, 111. Cromwell marches to besiege Waterford, *ib.* the lord lieutenant forced to disband his army, but provides for the defence of Waterford, *ib.* Cromwell obliged to raise the siege, 112. design upon Passage, 113. the marquis relieves Farrell, and stops the pursuit of the rebels with a very small party, 114. unseasonable obstinacy of the citizens of Waterford, 115. the lord lieutenant's designs obstructed by the influence of the popish clergy, *ibid.* his army separates, 116. he expostulates with the commissioners of trust, *ibid.* commissioners' advice to him, 118. agents from the countries to represent pretended grievances, *ib.* assembly of the Irish catho-

I N D E X.

lic clergy, 119. their pernicious influence on the people, *ib.* complaints of grievances found to be groundless, 120. the lord lieutenant with an inconsiderable force obliges Cromwell to draw off from Kilkenny, 121. the progress of the English rebels owing to the divisions among the Irish, *ib.* the lord lieutenant endeavours to preserve Limerick, 122. conference with the commissioners of trust, 123. ingratitude of the Irish to him, 125. his representation to the Irish, 126. fatal jealousies of the Irish, 128. lord lieutenant perseveres in his loyal endeavours, *ib.* foolish policy of the Irish, 129. lord lieutenant's answer to their pretended grievances, 131. he resolves to leave Ireland, *ib.* the Irish concerned at this resolution, address him, 132. his letter to the assembly at Loughreagh, 133. address on the said letter, 138. he alters his resolution of leaving Ireland, 140. letter from the mayor of Limerick to him, *ib.* his answer, 141. his proposals, 142. he advances towards Limerick, 143. a tumult thereon, *ib.* repeated affronts to him, 144. bishop of Clogher appointed to command after the death of O'Neal, 145. he infests the English rebels, *ib.* is defeated by Coote, 146. and basely murdered, *ib.* his character and history, 147. letter to the lord lieutenant from the titular archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, 150. his answer, 151. letter of credit from the bishops at Jamestown, 155. paper delivered to the lord lieutenant, 156. he appoints a meeting with

the Irish bishops at Loughreagh, 158. but rejected; and only two persons sent to receive his answer to their proposition, *ib.* whereupon they extravagantly excommunicate all who should adhere to the lord lieutenant, 159. and publish a declaration, 160. purport of it, 161. untruth thereof, 162. an instance of the bloody disposition of the English rebels, 169. conclusion of the declaration, 171. the consequences of the wild proceedings of the Irish catholic prelates, 175. letter to suspend the excommunication, 176. the king forced to acts, which gave countenance to this behaviour of the Irish prelates, 177. conduct of the lord lieutenant on the king's forced declaration, 179. his letter to the commissioners of trust, *ib.* answer of the commissioners, 181. commissioners of trust expostulate with the committee of the congregation of the prelates, 185. their answer to the commissioners, *ib.* lord lieutenant calls an assembly at Loughreagh, 196. protestation of the bishops, *ib.* the assembly satisfied therewith, *ib.* which makes the lord lieutenant resolve to leave the kingdom without leaving a deputy, 197. letter from the assembly to him on that resolution, *ib.* his answer, 198. he deputes the marquis of Clanrickard, 199. leaves Ireland, *ib.* and lands in France, 200. marquis of Clanrickard entreated to accept the government, 201. condition of the Irish at that time, 202. their behaviour to the lord deputy, 203. the catholic bishops smartly reprehended,

INDEX.

204. several Irish desert to the rebels, *ib.* lord deputy appoints a rendezvous, *ib.* resolves to fight Ireton, 205. shameful cowardice of the Irish troops, 206. lord Taaffe's negotiation with the duke of Lorraine, 207. who sends an ambassador to Ireland, 208. who applied to the lord deputy, *ib.* the latter appoints commissioners to confer with him, 209. their unfair negotiation, *ib.* message from the lord deputy to the ambassador, 210. who recedes from his demands, *ib.* the lord deputy sends sir Nicholas Plunket and Jeffery Brown to treat further with the duke of Lorraine, 211. carriage of the titular bishop of Fernes, *ib.* letter from the lord deputy to the duke, 213. disobedience of Limerick and Galway to the lord deputy, 219. Irish correspond with the English rebels, *ib.* lord deputy unable to prevent this correspondence, 220. instanced in Friar Anthony, *ib.* a good caution with respect to Roman catholics, 221. the consequence of the disobedience and disloyalty of the Irish catholic clergy, 222. Limerick besieged, 223. a party in it resolve to surrender, *ib.* whereupon the catholic bishops publish an excommunication, but in vain, 224. colonel Fennell siezes St. John's gate and Cluane towers, *ib.* their shameful capitulation, *ib.* the rebels exercise their usual cruelty, 226. titular bishop of Emley hanged, *ib.* the fate of Dominic Fanning the rioter, 227. and of alderman Stretch and friar Wolfe, 228. and even of colonel Fennell, by whose treachery

the rebels were possessed of the city, *ib.* others murdered by the rebels; instances of God's justice, but their cruelty, *ib.* Ireton's insulting summons to the town of Galway, 229. his death, *ib.* Galway desires the protection of the lord deputy, *ib.* but on appearance of a party of the rebels, desires to capitulate, *ib.* the town surrendered, 230. marquis of Clanrickard at last forced to leave the kingdom, 231. the conclusion, 233.

Ireton, Henry, v. 484, 495, 497, 498, 499. vi. 103, 254, 256, 554. viii. 199, 205, 219. *W.* vi. 254. he, Vane, and Cromwell, the leaders of the independents, v. 345. one of those called by the new name of fanatics, 430. appears among the council of officers, 441. his behaviour towards Charles I. 445. insulted by Hollis, 455. the consequences, *ib.* he and Cromwell design with the council of officers the king's destruction, 514. left by Cromwell in Essex to watch Fairfax and his army, vi. 62. sir C. Lucas and sir G. Lisle shot to death, chiefly owing to him, 102. being of an unmerciful and bloody nature, *ib.* he and Harrison the head of the levelers and agitators of the army, 226. his hatred against lord Capel immortal, 260. left by Cromwell his deputy in Ireland, 452, 546. (had married his daughter, 452.) his treatment of the rebels, 547. Limerick's shameful capitulation to him, viii. 224. his insulting summons to Galway, 229. died in Limerick of the plague, vi. 612. viii. 229. his charac-

INDEX.

- ter, vi. 612. Wogan more in credit with him than any man, vii. 55.
- Ireton, sir John, alderman, vii. 308. lord mayor, 375.
- Isabella, archduchess, i. 85. iv. 551.
- Juan, (John,) don of Austria, vii. 186, 227, 228, 231, 233, 234, 235. made governor of Flanders, vii. 182. besieges Condé, 225, 226. which he takes, 234. the earl of Bristol ingratiates himself with him, notwithstanding the prejudice against him, 232. he and Caracena took not the prince of Condé's advice, 281. and lose the battle of Dunkirk in consequence, 284, 285: is recalled to Spain, 338. notice of him. *ib.*
- Judges made themselves and the laws despised by their decision respecting ship-money, i. 124.
- Juliers, notice of the town, vii. 112. duchy of, 117.
- Justice, (see High court of justice.)
- Justices, lord, (see Ireland.)
- Juxon, William, i. 351, 392. vi. 242. succeeded archbishop Laud in the bishopric of London, through his means, i. 162. made lord treasurer, 175. offence taken at his appointment, *ib.* opposes the king's making a park between Richmond and Hampton-court, 177. the Scotch liturgy and canons submitted, when framed, to him, archbishop Laud, and bishop Wren, 184, 185, 191. resigns the treasurer'ship, and lives retired during all the troubled times, 370. bishop Warburton's comment on this circumstance, *W. in loc.*
- K.
- Keepership of the great seal, the attorney-general usually advanced to, i. 81.
- Keinton, (see Edge-hill.)
- Kelly, Dr. Charles, viii. 154, 159, 177.
- Kendall, major, killed at the siege of Bristol, iv. 149.
- Kensington, manor of, came to the earl of Holland in right of his wife, (Isabel Cope,) i. 111.
- Kent, commotions there in favour of Charles II. vi. 25, 38. the earl of Norwich at Maidstone with the Kentish forces, 56. which march towards Blackheath, 58. Fairfax advances against them, 59. the earl of Norwich and some of the forces transport themselves into Essex, and fix in Colchester, 60. Fairfax besieges them, 62. Colchester delivered up to him, 99.
- Kent, Anthony Grey, twelfth earl of, one of the commissioners intrusted with the parliament's new great seal, iv. 340. one of the few lords who attended parliament, 403, 629.
- Ker, (see Carr.)
- Kerry, Patrick Fitz-Maurice, nineteenth lord, iii. 471.
- Kettleby, (or Rytbeby,) captain, afterwards sir Thomas, iii. 114, 590. vi. 150.
- Kildare, surrendered to the marquis of Ormond, viii. 87.
- Kilfinorah, titular bishop of, viii. 192.
- Killalah, titular bishop of, viii. 192.
- Killalow, titular bishop of, viii. 164.
- Killigrew, major, killed, iv. 544.
- Killigrew, sir Henry, iii. 63. v. 332. one of the commissioners for the associated county of

INDEX.

- Devon, v. 152. the lords Capel and Hopton, and the chancellor of the exchequer, his particular friends, 425. his death, *ib.* his character, 426.
- Killigrew, sir William, iii. 267.
- Killmallock, viscount, viii. 126.
- Killmore, titular bishop of, viii. 155.
- Kilmedough, titular bishop of, viii. 192.
- Kilrush, battle of, viii. 17.
- Kimbolton, Edward Mountague, lord, viscount Mandevile, afterwards second earl of Manchester, i. 372, 436. ii. 603, 606, 128, 129, 147, 160, 184, 258. iii. 175, 606, 178, 179, 263. (as earl of Manchester,) iii. 397. iv. 618, 515, 571, 575, 579, 581. v. 78, 91. (as lord Mandevile,) one of the commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, i. 274. much courted by them, 275. notice of his previous life, 319. called to the house of peers by the name of lord Kimbolton, *ib.* sworn a privy-counsellor, 341. one of the leading men of the house of lords, 347, *n.* an intention of making him lord privy-seal after the death of his father, 446. accused, with five members of the commons, of high treason, by order of the king, ii. 124, 125, 604. communications between the king and parliament on the subject, 276, 280, 306, 316, 342, 449, 459, 477, 548. iii. 44, 618. has a regiment conferred on him by parliament, iii. 156. present at the battle of Edge-hill, 272. (as earl of Manchester,) notice of him, 562, 563. an ordinance for raising an army under him, iv. 190. the violent party wholly depended upon him, 191. one of the few peers who attended parliament, 403, 630. the association of several counties formed under him, 464. ordered to march into the north to join the Scots, 465. commanded at the second battle of Newbury, 582. accused by Cromwell of cowardice on this occasion, v. 13. recriminates Cromwell, 14. dispossessed of his command by the self-denying ordinance, 131, 132. being speaker of the house of lords, withdrew from parliament to the army, 462. had all the prejudice imaginable against Cromwell, 464. he and the earl of Warwick the two pillars of the presbyterian party, *ib.* conducted back to parliament by the general of the army, 469. present with others at Monk's conference respecting the restoration of Charles II. vii. 440.
- Kimbolton, (Anne Rich,) lady, iii. 562.
- King, Henry, made bishop of Chichester, ii. 25.
- King, general, iv. 519. made lieutenant-general of the earl of Newcastle's army, iii. 443. went abroad with the earl, iv. 521.
- Kingston, Robert Pierrepont, first earl of, anecdote of an application made to him to furnish Charles I. with money, iii. 247, 248.
- Kingston, second earl of, (see viscount Newark.)
- Kinoul, George Hay, second earl of, iv. 295, 433.
- Kinoul, William Hay, third earl of, vi. 287.
- Kirton, — v. 234, *n.* vi. 533.

INDEX.

Knight, — one of the commissioners appointed by Monk to treat with the officers of the army at London, vii. 379.

Knighthood, made an object of profit by king Charles I. i. 119. an act preventing vexatious proceedings touching the order of knighthood, 502.

Kniveton, Daniel, one of Charles I.'s messengers executed by parliament, iv. 342.

Knox, John, i. 153.

Knox, — vi. 577.

L.

Lambert, Charles, iv. 393.

Lambert, — vi. 72, 490, 498. vii. 19, 104, 193, 197, 205, 303, 310, 368, 376, 390, 475. *W.* vii. 366, 367, 428. proposed by Cromwell as deputy of Ireland in opposition to sir W. Waller, vi. 4, 346. marches against sir M. Langdale, and sir P. Musgrave, 55. beats sir M. Langdale, 75. routs duke Hamilton, *ib.* Pontefract castle delivered up to him, 123—126. sent by Cromwell to follow Charles II. who had entered England with an army, 493. follows, but is forced to retire, 496. makes the army dissatisfied with Cromwell, vii. 101. was the second in command, but the first in the affections of the army, 103. aided Cromwell in becoming protector, 104. Cromwell's jealousy of him, 192. opposed Cromwell's being made king, 195. who now looked upon him as his mortal enemy, 201. and turned him out of the army, 221. one of the new council of officers who consult about the government, 307. restored to the army by the council of

officers, 312. sent by parliament against sir G. Booth and sir T. Middleton, 334. routs sir G. Booth and takes Chester, 335. the parliament grows jealous of his army, 366. the petition and proposals of his army, 367. this petition discovered to Haslerig, who acquaints parliament with it, 368. they cashier Lambert, and eight other chief officers, 369. Lambert draws some troops together, stops the speaker, and makes him go home, 371. the officers meet, and choose Fleetwood general, and him major-general, 372. was one of the committee of safety constituted by the army, 375. sent against Monk, who had declared for the parliament, 378, 379. comes to Newcastle, 387. the parliament meets again, and orders his troops to separate, 392. they separate, and he is committed to the Tower, *ib.* his escape, 427, 428. draws four troops to him near Daventry, 429. Ingoldsby sent against him, *ib.* two of his troops revolt to Ingoldsby, 430. his party dispersed, 431. he and others taken, *ib.* committed again to the Tower, 431. what ruined him according to bishop Warburton, *W.* vii. 375.

Lamport, sir T. Fairfax beats lord Goring near there, v. 208.

Lanark, earl of, (see Lanrick.)

Lancashire, the condition of, at the end of 1642. iii. 447.

Lane, sir George, secretary to the marquis of Ormond, vii. 233.

Lane, afterwards sir Richard, v. 60. argued the matter of law for the earl of Strafford at his

INDEX.

- trial, i. 395. as lord chief baron of the exchequer, one of the king's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 37. was keeper of the great seal to Charles I. vii. 67.
- Lane, ——— notice of, vi. 525. Charles II. brought to his house in his flight from Worcester, 526.
- Lane, Mrs. Charles II. in his flight from Worcester rides behind her to Mr. Norton's through Bristol, vi. 528, 530.
- Langdale, sir Marmaduke, afterwards lord, iv. 574, 590. v. 171, 176, 181, 291, 292, 493, 501. vi. 16, 41, 43, 45, 50, 54, 55, 74, 111, 122. commanded the left wing at the battle of Naseby, v. 183. the king's horse under him routed by Pointz, 284. he and sir P. Musgrave treated with by the Scots, and invited into Scotland, whither they went, vi. 12. they refuse to take the covenant, 47. he surprises Berwick, and sir P. Musgrave Carlisle, 51, 52. he marches a day before duke Hamilton, 72. gives him an account of the English army, 73. is beaten by Lambert, 75. and taken, 76. escapes out of Nottingham castle, 126. and goes beyond sea, *ib.*
- Langham, John, iii. 333.
- Langhorn, (or Laughorn,) colonel, active in the parliament's service about Shropshire and North Wales, v. 67. notice of him, vi. 41. disposed to declare for the king, 41, 42. taken prisoner in Pembroke castle by Cromwell, 59.
- Lanrick, (Lanark,) William Hamilton, earl of, afterwards second duke Hamilton, iv. 295. 626, 299, 627, 628. v. 328, 334. vi. 45, 90, 93, 272, 273, 274, 276. (as duke Hamilton) 306, 397. secretary of state in Scotland to Charles I. iv. 295. repairs to him at Oxford, 432, 627. detained in custody, 435, 629. escapes, 436, 629. signed the Scotch treaty with Charles I. at the Isle of Wight, v. 540. his character, vi. 9, 272. deprived of the secretaryship by the Scotch parliament, 94. (as duke Hamilton) waits on Charles II. in Holland, 271, 287. conference between him and the chancellor of the exchequer, 292, 293. leaves the king shortly after his arrival in Scotland, 437. he and the earl of Lauderdale were nearest the king's confidence, 487. the duke of Buckingham broke off all friendship with them, 495. died of the wounds received at the battle of Worcester, 511, 512. farther notice of his character, 512. bishop Warburton considers that he and his brother, the preceding duke, were a couple of knaves, notwithstanding all bishop Burnet has said in their behalf, *W.* iv. 431.
- Lansdown, battle of, iv. 122. 605.
- Lany, doctor Benjamin, afterwards bishop of Ely, one of the king's commissioners on ecclesiastical matters at the treaty of Uxbridge, v. 51.
- Land, William, bishop of Bath and Wells, then bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, i. 134, 198, 270, 351, 355, 369, 372, 381, 393, 401. ii. 4, 13, 30, 54, 109, 492. iv. 250. v. 57. *W.* i. 6, 137, 146, 152, 159, 160, 174, 175, 205,

INDEX.

214, 261, 263, 311, 423, ii. 30, 109. the direction of ecclesiastical affairs intrusted to him by the duke of Buckingham, i. 115, 159. and afterwards by king Charles, 116. how administered, *ib.* his character, 116, 159, 165, 176. (as bishop of London) attends the king into Scotland, to advise him respecting the introduction of the English liturgy there, 146. preaches before him at Edinburgh on the subject, *ib.* his opinion of the matter, 150. ill effects of his views, 152. discountenances Calvinism in his diocese and at Oxford, 158. made archbishop of Canterbury, *ib.* his rise and character, 159, 165. Warburton's comment, *W.* i. 165. prejudiced against the Calvinistic party, 161. procures the see of London for bishop Juxon, 162. injudicious in too rigorously enforcing the removal of the communion table from the body of the church, 170. his proceedings opposed by bishop Williams, *ib.* ii. 104, 109. the earl of Portland tries in vain to undermine his influence with the king, i. 173. made a commissioner of the treasury, *ib.* his conduct in that capacity, *ib.* 180. opposed by lord Cottington, 174. his irascibility, 176. exposed by lord Cottington, *ib.* 178. endeavours to dissuade the king from making a park between Richmond and Hampton-court, as being unpopular, 178. the Scotch liturgy and canons submitted, when framed, to him, bp. Juxon, and bp. Wren, 183, 185, 191. his direction to the framers as to

the method of drawing them up, 186. the earl of Traquair the only layman consulted by him on these matters, 191. very partial to lord Conway, 251. his palace at Lambeth assaulted by the mob, 252. one of the committee of state, 263, 264. his removal from about the king recommended by the Scotch commissioners, 276. the queen hostile to him, 294. accused of high treason by the house of commons, 309, 522, 524. committed to the black rod, 525. always treated with respect by the earl of Bedford, 409. never had so great influence upon the court, as Dr. Burgess and Mr. Marshall had upon parliament, ii. 25. lord Falkland contracted some prejudice against him, iv. 251. his trial, v. 31. *W.* i. 423. condemned by an ordinance, v. 32. the king's pardon of him, which had been suggested by the chancellor of the exchequer, declared by parliament to be of no effect, 33, 35. beheaded, *ib.* *W.* in *loc.* bishop Warburton says he was for an arbitrary king and an intolerant church, *W.* i. 165. and that he was rude and brutal to all suitors, *ib.*

Lauderdale, John, lord Maitland, earl of, afterwards duke of, and earl of Guilford, v. 527. vi. 45, 46, 133, 287, 296, 319, 397, 486. *W.* vi. 9. one of the parliament's commissioners for Scotland to treat at Uxbridge, v. 37. his part in the treaty, 49, 50. as one of the Scotch commissioners, signed the private treaty with Charles I. in the Isle of Wight, 540. his character, vi. 9. sent to demand the prince

INDEX.

- of Wales's personal appearance in Scotland, 71, 78, 83, 84, 85, 86. returns, 87. waits on the prince, now king, in Holland, 271, 272, 287. his discourse against the marquis of Mountrose, 290. departs from the king, when in Scotland, 437. he and duke Hamilton nearest the king's confidence, 487. the duke of Buckingham broke off all friendship with them, 495. taken prisoner after the king's defeat at Worcester, 515. sent to the Tower, 576. bishop Warburton's observation on his subsequent conduct, *W.* vi. 296.
- Langhorn, (see Langhorn.)
- Lawly, colonel, iii. 465.
- Lawson, vice-admiral, he and the fleet declare for the parliament, and come into the river, vii. 389, the fleet reformed, in order that he might not have so much power over it, being an anabaptist, 432, 433. well disposed towards Charles II. 498.
- Lawyers; animosities between some great lawyers and some churchmen, ii. 29. which produced great mischiefs, *ib.*
- League, solemn league and covenant, copy of, iv. 280.
- Leake, lieutenant-colonel, killed at the second battle of Newbury, iv. 588.
- Le Brune, vi. 325, 328, 330. notice of, vi. 327.
- Lee, sergeant, ii. 502.
- Lee, sir Thomas, iii. 190.
- Leg, Legge, captain, ii. 276, 305, 392, 458, 479, 523, 556. iii. 188.
- Leg, colonel William, iv. 175, 176. vi. 291. taken prisoner at the siege of Litchfield cathedral, iv. 35. much in prince Rupert's confidence, 176, 195, *n.* imprisoned, whilst governor of Oxford, owing to this intimacy, v. 253, 254.
- Legg, ——— aided Charles I.'s escape from Hampton-court, v. 488, 492. notice of, 492.
- Leganez, marquis of, vi. 383.
- Leicester stormed and taken by the king, v. 175.
- Leicester, Robert Sydney, second earl of, ii. 20, 582. iii. 254, 483. iv. 567. *W.* iii. 477. appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, being then extraordinary ambassador in France, ii. 586. the parliament not satisfied with his appointment, *ib.* considered as a puritan, 587. made no haste to Ireland, 68. iii. 477. notice of him, ii. 599. courted the parliament more than the king, 599, 603. showed the instructions he had received, as lord-lieutenant from the king, to parliament, iii. 475. his reasons for so doing, 476. jealousies between him and the earl of Ormond, 481. his character, and previous occupations, 543. refuses to sign the peers' letter to the council in Scotland, iv. 349, *n.* thereby prevents his appointment to be the prince's governor, 350. the marquis of Ormond having the lieutenancy of Ireland in his stead, *ib.*
- Leicester, third earl of, (see lord Lisle.)
- Leicester, (Dorothy Percy,) countess of, *W.* vi. 238. the princess Elizabeth and duke of Gloucester committed to her care by parliament, vii. 85.
- Leigh, Thomas lord, one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 633.

I N D E X.

Lenox, duke of, (see duke of Richmond.)

Lenthal, William i. 240. iii. 407. iv. 368, 415. v. 38. vii. 313. unfavourable character of, i. 297. unfortunately chosen speaker of the house of commons, of November 1640. 298, 520. withdraws, with other members, to the army, v. 461, 463. a new speaker chosen, 462. believed to have no malice towards the king, and not to be without good inclinations to the church, 464. conducted back to parliament by the general of the army, 469. chosen speaker of Cromwell's parliament, 1654. vii. 37. stopt by Lambert from going to parliament, and sent home again, 371. the soldiers in London resolve to restore the parliament, and wait on him, 390. goes into the city, 391. changes the command of the Tower, *ib.*

Leopold, William, archduke, vi. 249, 450, *n.* 468. (see Archduke.)

Lesley, David, v. 229, 247, 285, 291. vi. 283, 507, 508, 513, 514. routs the marquis of Mountrose, vi. 414, 415. his insolent treatment of the marquis, who was taken prisoner, 416. made lieutenant-general by Charles II. to his Scotch army, 488. his saying concerning this army, 497, 498. his strange conduct, 509. defeated at Worcester, 510. taken prisoner, 515. opinions for and against his having been unfaithful to his charge, *ib.*

Lesley, general, Alexander, earl of Leven, i. 281. chosen general of the Scotch covenanters, i. 199, 508. had served under the

king of Sweden, *ib.* the earl of Holland retires before him at Duncce, 210. made earl of Leven, ii. 37, 581. iii. 309. his professions to the king, ii. 38, 581. iii. 309. accepts the command of a fresh Scotch army against him notwithstanding, iv. 299, 394. taken prisoner at the battle of Marston-moor, 510. induced to decline the command of another Scotch army, vi. 44.

L'Estrange, afterwards sir Roger, notice of, vi. 26—28. well characterized according to bishop Warburton, *W.* vi. 28. concerned in the commotions in Kent for Charles II. vi. 26—28, 38. escapes into Holland, 41.

Letter, intercepted from some of the Scottish nobility to the French king, i. 228. from the peers on the king's side to the council in Scotland, iv. 348, 630. from the English parliament to the lords justices in Ireland concerning a cessation of arms concluded there for a year, 366. from the lords justices in reply, 369. from the members of both houses of parliament at Oxford to the earl of Essex, 400. from Charles I. to prince Rupert against treating of peace at that time, August 1645. v. 225. from the same at Brecknock to the prince of Wales, 231. from the same to prince Rupert upon his surrender of Bristol, 252. from the same to lord Colepepper concerning the prince of Wales, 258. from the same to the prince, 276. another, 277. another from Hereford, 361. from the queen to the chancellor of the exchequer concerning the prince

I N D E X.

- of Wales's removal into France, 363. from the general of the army to the parliament respecting a tumultuous petition of apprentices concerning the militia, 461. substance of the king's letter to the chancellor of the exchequer, 476. letter from the parliament of Scotland to the prince of Wales, vi. 83. sum of the king's letter to his son concerning the treaty at Newport, 187. conclusion in the king's own words, 189. letter from prince Rupert to the chancellor of the exchequer, 390. from the commander of the parliament's fleet to the king of Spain, 392. from an anabaptist to Charles II. vii. 270. from Monk to the parliament, 409. from Charles II. to the general and army, 454. from the same to the house of commons, 457. from the same to the house of lords, 465. from the same to the fleet, 466. from the same to the lord mayor and aldermen of London, 468. from the house of commons to the king in reply, 481. from the lord-lieutenant of Ireland to the assembly at Loghbreagh, viii. 133. from the mayor of Limerick to the lord-lieutenant, 140. from the lord-lieutenant to the mayor in reply, 141. from the titular archbishops of Dublin and Tuam to the lord-lieutenant, 150. from the lord-lieutenant to the archbishops in reply, 151. letter of credit from the bishops at Jamestown, 154. letter to suspend the excommunication, 176. from the lord-lieutenant to the commissioners of trust, 179. from the commissioners of trust to the lord-lieutenant in reply, 181. from the lord deputy to the duke of Lorrain, 213.
- Levellers, rise of, in the army, v. 486, 505. Cromwell suppresses a tumult of them, 505. they mutiny, and are suppressed by Fairfax, vi. 432. hostile to Cromwell as protector, vii. 34. the term of levellers, to what party applied, according to the statement of an anabaptist, vii. 273.
- Leven, earl of, see general Lesley.
- Levingston, sir William, vi. 90.
- Lewis, — one of the leading men in the house of commons, 1647. v. 454. one of the heads of the moderate presbyterian party, vii. 440.
- Lewis, don, (see Haro.)
- Leyda, marquis of, sent ambassador by Spain to Cromwell, after a month returns to France, vii. 174. comes to Brussels to solicit for supplies for Dunkirk, but in vain, 279. sallies out of Dunkirk upon the enemy, is repulsed and slain, 285.
- Liche, marquis de, vi. 370, 373.
- Lichfield, (see Litchfield.)
- Lilburn, John, a leveller, v. 459. some account of, vii. 44.
- Limerick, popular tumults there, viii. 28. the magistrates displaced, *ib.* lord lieutenant endeavours to preserve Limerick, 122. letter from the mayor to him, 140. he advances towards Limerick, 143. a tumult thereon, *ib.* disobedience of Limerick to the lord deputy, 219. a party in it resolve to surrender, 223. whereupon the bishops publish an excommunication, but in vain, 224.

INDEX.

- colonel Fennell seizes St. John's gate and Cluane towers, *ib.* the shameful capitulation, *ib.* Limerick, titular bishop of, viii. 127, 223.
- Lincoln, Theophilus Clinton, fourth earl of, one of the few peers who attended parliament, iv. 403. 629.
- Lincoln, bishop of, (see Williams and Winniff.)
- Lindsay, John Lindsay, earl of, afterwards earl of Crawford, iii. 343.
- Lindsey, Robert Bertie, first earl of, i. 80. iii. 575, 579, 251, *n.* 270, 271, 630. one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 71, 571. made general of the king's army at the opening of the civil war, iii. 105, 169. killed at the battle of Edge-hill, 279, 285, 633. his character, 285, *n.* 287. *W.* iii. 270.
- Lindsey, second earl of, (see lord Willoughby.)
- Lisle, colonel, afterwards sir George, present at the second battle of Newbury, iv. 585. joins the Kentish men in Essex in favour of the king, vi. 61. given up at the surrender of Colchester, 99. shot to death, 101. murdered against all law, according to bishop Warburton, *W.* vi. 254. his character, vi. 102.
- Lisle, John, gave his vote in the king's blood, vii. 246. and continued an entire confident and instrument of Cromwell's, *ib.* was president of the high court of justice to try Mr. Mordaunt and others, *ib.*
- Lisle, Phillip Sidney, lord, afterwards third earl of Leicester, vi. 142. through Cromwell's interest sent as lord lieutenant into Ireland, vi. 3. his kindness towards Monk, 343. vii. 381. Cromwell appointed his successor, vi. 346.
- Litchfield cathedral taken by sir J. Gell, iii. 455.
- Litchfield, earl of, (see lord B. Stewart.)
- Littleton, Edward lord, ii. 21, 446. v. 38. made lord keeper of the great seal in the room of lord Finch, i. 310, 368. reason for his being made a baron, 381. yet why notwithstanding he would not vote at the earl of Strafford's trial, *ib.* declines demanding the staff and the key of office from the earls of Essex and Holland, ii. 331, 611. particulars of his deserting the parliament, and of his joining the king with the great seal at York, 488, *n.* 493—497. reasons for his previous acquiescence in the proceedings of parliament, 488, *n.* 489, *n.* 496. his character, 491. iii. 538. his rise, ii. 492. his failure as lord keeper, 493. one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 71, 571. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632. one of those appointed to examine into the accusation against duke Hamilton, 433.
- Littleton, — vii. 323.
- Liturgy, Charles I.'s intentions of introducing the English liturgy into Scotland, how far, and why opposed, i. 146—149, 508. the liturgy and canons appointed to be drawn up by some of the Scotch bishops and submitted to arch-

INDEX.

- bishop Laud, bishop Juxon, and bishop Wren, 183. observations respecting the canons, 185. and the liturgy, 191, 508. how received in Edinburgh, 193, 196. declaration of parliament concerning a reformation of the liturgy, ii. 421.
- Locke, John, *W.* iv. 457.
- Lockhart, — vii. 212, 221, 304, 357. sent by Cromwell ambassador into France, who finishes an alliance there begun before by the agents of France in England, vii. 180. commanded the English foot at the battle of Dunkirk, 284. the French king delivers Dunkirk, which had surrendered, to him, he being appointed governor by Cromwell, 286. continued ambassador in France by the parliament after Cromwell's death, 318. generally too hard for cardinal Mazarine, but cajoled by him respecting the peace between France and Spain, 357. why he could not be prevailed on to declare for Charles II. 449. refuses to give up Dunkirk and Mardyke upon an offer from cardinal Mazarine of being made marshal of France, *ib.*
- Loftus, Adam lord, afterwards viscount Ely, chancellor of Ireland, i. 265, 383, 386. case of the earl of Strafford's stretch of power against him, 390, 391.
- London, city of, nature of its government, ii. 152. common councilmen, how chosen, *ib.* generally for life, 153. notice of its common hall, iii. 396. the sink of the ill humours of the kingdom, i. 349, 530. money borrowed of the city by parliament for supplying their two armies, i. 361. a new common council chosen of such as were most eminent for opposing the government, and most disaffected to the church, 362. ii. 153. the committee of the house of commons that sat in the city well received, ii. 134. the city's petition to the king, 146. his answer, 148. the state and temper of the city at that time, 150. hostile to the court, in consequence of the property bought by the city in Ireland being resumed by the king, 152. the common council's answer to the desire of the commons to borrow money of the city, 204. an intended petition from the city against the militia bill considered as a conspiracy by the commons, 284. the person who drew it up impeached by them, 347. petition of the city to the king for peace, iii. 386. his answer, 390. expedients of parliament to prevent its effect, 397. the city declares for the parliament, 400. its proportion of the weekly assessment levied by parliament on the whole kingdom, 493. the city fortified, 494. the common council petition against making peace with the king, iv. 187. whereupon the house of commons rejected the propositions of the lords, 188. some women, petitioners for peace, cut down by a troop of horse, 188. transactions of the city when the king was seized by the army, v. 444. the temper of the city and the changes of their militia at the time of the impeachment of eleven members of the commons by the army, 459. the city sends six aldermen to the general, and

INDEX:

submits, 467. the army marches through the city and quarters about it, 469. commissioners sent to the prince of Wales, now in the river with a fleet, with a petition, vi. 65. he writes to the city, 66. the behaviour of the city after some ineffectual risings in favour of the king, 1648. 103. they petition for a personal treaty, 104. a committee of parliament treats with them about it, *ib.* the parliament declares for a personal treaty, 105. the city invites Cromwell, after being proclaimed protector, to Grocers' hall, vii. 20. the city militia second the address of the new council of officers to the protector Richard, 309. the common council are refractory to the parliament, 404. Monk sent into the city to reduce it to obedience, 405. he marches again into the city, and sends an expostulatory letter to the parliament, 409. he meets the lord mayor and common council, excuses what was past, and promises to stand by them, and they by him, 410. great rejoicings in the city upon it, *ib.* Charles II.'s letter to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, 468. which is dutifully received, 479. the city send fourteen of their citizens to the king at the Hague to assure him of their fidelity, 500. the king passes through the city to Whitehall, 505.

London, Tower of, (see Tower.)

London, bp. of, (see W. Juxon.)

Long, — one of the presbyterian party, who opposed the self-denying ordinance, v. 89.

Long, colonel, high sheriff of Wiltshire, routed by sir W.

Waller and Cromwell, owing to his great defect of courage and conduct, v. 140.

Long, Robert, vi. 542. *W.* vi. 80. how far concerned in the factions of the prince of Wales's family, v. 154, 234, *n.* being secretary to the prince, is trusted by the queen to keep him firm to the presbyterian party, vi. 37. he and lord Colepepper accused of corruption, 80. his fondness for money induced him to undertake the disagreeable office of taking care of the prince's pecuniary affairs, 138. upon the prince's becoming king, is sworn one of his new council, 269. removed from the king by the marquis of Argyle, upon his arrival in Scotland, although he had chiefly recommended the king's going thither, 438. his scheme for keeping the chancellor of the exchequer away from the king, 543. petitions the king to be restored to the secretary's place, vii. 69. is refused by the king, 70. whereupon he accuses the chancellor of the exchequer of having conversed with Cromwell, *ib.* the business heard in council, 71. the king acquits the chancellor, 72. he asks the chancellor's pardon and is forgiven, 77.

Longueville, duke of, imprisoned, vi. 376, *n.* 378.

Longueville, mademoiselle de, designed by sir J. Berkley for the duke of York's wife, vi. 589.

Lord steward of the king's household, his office to swear the members of the house of commons before they sit, i. 233.

Lords, house of, origin of the custom of protesting there, ii. 212. abuse of this custom, 1642. 213.

INDEX.

- notice of the few lords who attended parliament, 1643. iv. 403, 629. the house of lords had little to do after Cromwell returned from Scotland, and were few in number, vi. 214. they reject the capital charge against the king, and adjourn a week, 215. the door of their house locked up against the day to which they had adjourned, *ib.* the commons abolish the house of peers, 1649. 246. but allow the peers to be elected as knights or burgesses, *ib.* Cromwell reassembles a house of peers as a check on the commons, 1657. vii. 217. filling it chiefly with officers and his creatures, 218. carried in the commons that the house of peers should be allowed, 307. (see Parliament.)
- Lords and others at York, their promise to the king upon his declaration to them, June 13, 1642. iii. 70. their declaration and profession that the king had no intentions of war, 71, 571.
- Lorne, archibald Campbell, lord, afterwards ninth earl of Argyll, captain of the guard to Charles II. whilst in Scotland, vi. 457.
- Lorrain, duke of, vi. 323, 476. lord Cottington and the chancellor of the exchequer visit him at Brussels, vi. 326. his character, 474, 475. why he objected to the project of marrying his bastard daughter to the duke of York, 478. concludes a treaty with the French court, 584, 585. the Irish rebels invite him into Ireland, 614. viii. 207. commissioners sent to him to Brussels, vi. 616. he sends an ambassador into Ireland to be informed of the state of it, 617. viii. 208. who applies to the lord deputy, viii. 208. who appoints commissioners to confer with him, 209. their unfair negotiation, *ib.* message from the lord deputy to the ambassador, 210. who recedes from his demands, *ib.* lord deputy sends sir N. Plunket and Jeffery Brown to treat further with the duke, 211. letter from him to the duke, 213. renounces any consent to the treaty, vi. 618. the ambassador returns, whereupon the duke gives over the negotiation, 620.
- Lothian, William Ker, third earl of, made secretary of state in Scotland, vi. 95, 276. his previous part in the rebellion, 95. one of the commissioners sent from the parliament of Scotland before the death of the king to the parliament of England, 274, 275. their private instructions, 276. upon the king's trial they enter their protestation and dissent, 277. the parliament, after the king's murder, send their answer to it, 280. the commissioners reply, and are imprisoned, but afterwards freed, 281.
- Love, — notice of his sermon at Uxbridge before the treaty began, v. 43, 44. *W. in loc.* executed by Cromwell for being in a plot with the Scots against the army and their parliament, v. 45. vi. 555. *W.* vi. 556.
- Lovel, — accidentally tutor to the duke of Gloucester, vii. 85. the benefit of his instructions, 86. sent by him to London, and procures the parliament's permission for the duke to go abroad, 87.

INDEX.

Lovelace, John lord, one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. joins the king at Oxford, 192, 205. why he remained in London at first, iv. 192. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, 633.

Loughborough, Henry Hastings, lord, one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 633.

Louis XIV. (see the king of France.)

Louisa de Guzman, (see queen of Portugal.)

Lowden, John Campbell, lord, afterwards earl of, iii. 309, 507. v. 415. sent by the Scotch covenanters to account for their proceedings to king Charles I. i. 228. sent to the Tower for signing a letter to the French king, 229, 513. supposed reasons of his release, 253, 333. one of the Scotch commissioners to treat at Rippon, 275. goes as such to London, 331. concerned with the factious party in the English parliament, 348, *n.* made chancellor of Scotland, ii. 37. and an earl, *ib.* one of those who engaged that Scotland should assist the English parliament, iii. 312. comes to Oxford as a commissioner from the conservators of the peace in Scotland, 498. his and the other commissioners' transactions at Oxford, that they might be mediators, and for a parliament in Scotland, 521. the king's answer to them in both particulars, 523. they return to Scotland, 528. one of the Scotch commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 37.

his private conference with the chancellor of the exchequer, 47. his speech at the treaty against episcopacy, 57. answered by the chancellor of the exchequer, 58. his behaviour towards Charles I. as soon as he appeared with some shew of liberty, 527. signed as a Scotch commissioner the treaty made with the king in the Isle of Wight, 540. why he durst not take part in the execution of this treaty, vi. 9, 10. zealous for the covenant, 45. his virulent declamation against the marquis of Mountrose when brought before the Scotch parliament, 417. according to an anecdote published by doctor Birch, Charles I. had determined to strike off Lowden's head in the Tower, without any form of process against him, *W.* i. 229.

Lowe, — vi. 66, 80.

Lowther, Ger. iv. 393.

Loyal party, its low condition in England, 1650. vi. 431.

Lucas, sir Charles, victorious in a skirmish against colonel Middleton, iv. 139. joins in Essex the Kentish men who had risen in favour of the king, vi. 61. given up at the surrender of Colchester, 99. shot to death, 101. murdered against all law according to bishop Warburton, *W.* vi. 254. his character, vi. 101.

Lucas, sir Gervas, governor of Belvoir castle, v. 301, 302.

Lucas, sir John, his ill treatment in Essex, being a royalist, iii. 229. (as lord,) vi. 101.

Lucas, Thomas, iv. 393.

Lucerne, Cromwell compels the duke of Savoy to restore the forfeited privileges to the valley of, vii. 297.

I N D E X.

- Ludlow, sir Henry, accused of high treason by Charles I. iii. 618.
- Ludlow, ——— vii. 476. succeeds Ireton in the charge of the army in Ireland, vi. 612. *W. in loc.* grants the marquis of Clanrickard a pass to go to England, vi. 622. the parliament makes him and four commissioners governors of Ireland, vii. 316. one of the seven commissioners appointed by parliament to govern the army, 370.
- Lunsford, colonel Henry, iii. 200. killed at the siege of Bristol, iv. 151, 615. an officer of extraordinary sobriety, industry, and courage, 151.
- Lunsford, colonel, sir Thomas, i. 171, 461. made lieutenant of the Tower in the room of sir W. Balfour, ii. 81. his character, 122. taken prisoner at Edge-hill, iii. 292.
- Lusignon, marquis of, sent by the prince of Condé as his ambassador to Madrid, vi. 451, n. afterwards beheaded, *ib.*
- Lutterel, ——— owner of Dunstan castle, surrendered it to the king's forces, iv. 110.
- Lyme, relieved by the earl of Essex, iv. 497.
- Lynne, design of surprising, by lord Willoughby of Parham, and sir Horatio Townsend, vii. 322.
- Lyonne, M. de, vii. 341.
- M.
- Macdonnel, family of, v. 94.
- Macdonnel, Alexander, v. 94, 113.
- Macguyre, lord, ii. 582.
- Macguyres, the, vi. 144.
- Machiavel, Nicholas, vindication of, v. 543. *W. in loc.*
- Mackey, lord, i. 269.
- Mackworth, sir Francis, v. 195, 196, 197.
- Mac Mahon, Ever, titular bishop of Clogher, viii. 56, 137. (see bp. of Clogher.)
- Macmahoons, the, vi. 144.
- Mademoiselle, (see Orleans.)
- Madrid, ambassadors and public ministers there receive greater respect than in any other court in Christendom, vi. 446.
- Mahon, Mark, ii. 582.
- Mahoni, ——— viii. 72.
- Maitland, lord, (see earl of Lauderdale.)
- Major generals, a sort of military magistrates appointed by Cromwell whilst protector, vii. 187. their power, 188. abridged by him, 222.
- Maleife, ——— viii. 28.
- Malignants, a term imposed upon all those whom the factious party meant to render odious to the people, ii. 91.
- Mallett, sir Thomas, judge, committed to the Tower for having seen a petition in favour of the Common Prayer Book, and against the imposition of the militia by ordinance, ii. 348. iii. 153, 537. redeemed by the king by giving up another prisoner in exchange, iii. 155.
- Mallory, colonel, vii. 248, 249, 250, 253.
- Maltravers, lord, (see lord Mowbray.)
- Manchester disaffected to the king, iii. 259, n. lord Strange undertakes to reduce it, *ib.* not so fortunately performed, *ib.*
- Manchester, Henry Montagu, viscount Mandevile, first earl of, had been lord treasurer, i. 84. his origin and rise, 96. was lord privy-seal, *ib.* his character, 97. his death, 98.
- Manchester, second earl of, (see lord Kimbolton.)
- Mancini, ——— vii. 286.

I N D E X.

- Mandevile, Robert Montagu, viscount, afterwards third earl of Manchester, one of the committee sent by parliament to wait on Charles II. at the Hague, vii. 499. (see lord Kimbolton and the earl of Manchester.)
- Manners, Frances, married to the duke of Buckingham, i. 62. afterwards to the earl of Antrim, v. 92. Charles I. always heard her with favour on account of her first husband, - 110. notice of her, *ib.*
- Manning, ——— discovery of his treachery in revealing Charles II.'s designs, and a particular account of it, vii. 149—159.
- Mansel, sir Robert, iii. 108.
- Manton, ——— one of the presbyterian divines who had a public and private audience of Charles II. at the Hague, vii. 501, 502.
- Mantua, duke of, v. 348.
- Manwairing, ——— iii. 391.
- Marcello, ——— viii. 72, *n.*
- Margaret of Austria, (see queen of Spain.)
- Margarita, don Josepho de, vii. 355.
- Markey, lord, iv. 628.
- Marlborough garrisoned by the parliament, iii. 340. taken by the king's forces under lieutenant general Wilmot, 342.
- Marlborough, James Ley, first earl of, had been lord treasurer, i. 84. why removed, *ib.*
- Marlborough, Henry Ley, second earl of, general of the king's artillery, iv. 129. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, 632.
- Marsh, ——— v. 202, *n.*
- Marshall, ——— i. 358. v. 440. he and Dr. Burgess had more influence upon parliament, than archbishop Laud had upon the court, ii. 25. notice of his preaching against the malignants, iii. 231. he and Dr. Downing publicly avowed, that the soldiers taken prisoners, and released by Charles I. upon their oaths of not bearing arms against him again, were not bound by that oath, 339. bishop Warburton remarks, this, if true, was a most villainous profanation of their ministry, *W. in loc.* sent as one of the parliament commissioners into Scotland for relief, iv. 153. was one of the parliament commissioners in ecclesiastical matters to treat at Uxbridge, v. 52. was chief chaplain in the army, *ib.*
- Marston-moor, battle of, iv. 509.
- Martin, Anthony, bishop of Meath, a lord justice in Ireland, iv. 393.
- Martin, Anthony, viii. 51.
- Martin, sir Henry, i. 13, 360.
- Martin, or Martyn, Henry, iv. 17, 51. accused of high treason by the king, 618. the parliament-governor of Reading, iii. 318. fled at the king's approach, *ib.* one of the leaders of the independent party in parliament, v. 89. his application of the story of Moses to the sitting of parliament, vii. 5.
- Mary, queen, i. 396.
- Mary, queen of Scots, her death an unparalleled act of blood, i. 132.
- Mary, princess, ii. 188, 259. married the prince of Orange, iii. 233.
- Mary Anne, (see queen of Spain.)
- Massonet, ——— vii. 71, 76.
- Massey, colonel, afterwards major general, iv. 228. v. 444. vi. 496. *W.* vi. 577. governor

INDEX.

- of Gloucester, iv. 175. why he sided with the parliament, *ib.* notice of him, 175, 195, *n.* an attempt to gain him over, 176, 195, *n.* unsuccessful, 179, 195, *n.* *W.* iv. 177. a letter of kindness and one thousand pounds sent him by parliament for holding Gloucester out against the king's forces, iv. 257. deprived of his commission by the self-denying ordinance, v. 132. much beloved in the city, 454. one of the leading men in the house of commons, 454. vi. 208. committed to prison by the house, vi. 208. has the command of a regiment of horse under the duke of Buckingham for Charles II. 494. sent to march before the king into England from Scotland, 495. wounded in an excursion from Worcester, 509. taken in his flight from thence, 576. sent to the Tower, 577. a design of trying him by a high court of justice, *ib.* escapes, *ib.* his project of surprising Gloucester, vii. 322. betrayed by sir R. Willis, 327. seized on, but escapes, 331.
- Master of the rolls, (see Rolls.)
- Maurice, prince, iii. 271. the greatest general of his age, iv. 563.
- Maurice, prince, iii. 466. iv. 133, 315, 470, 496, 497, 569, 573, 577, v. 214, 287, 288, 289, 295, 296, 389. *W.* iv. 107, 172, 299, 322. v. 2. his arrival in England, iii. 189, *n.* present at the rencounter between the forces near Worcester, where his brother, prince Rupert, gets the better, 234, 235. follows sir W. Waller, 468. iv. 29. notice of his character, iv. 603. he and the marquis of Hertford sent into the west, 95, *n.* 105, 107. they join the Cornish forces at Chard, 109. some jealousy between them, 112. his skirmish with the enemy near Chewton, 116—118. present at the battle of Lansdown, 120—122. he and the marquis retire to Chippenham, 127. break through the enemy's quarters with the horse, and reach Oxford, 129, 607, 132. they return to Bath to assist at the siege of Bristol, 141, 611. how far concerned in the jealousies which arose among the king's officers about the government of Bristol, 162, 616, 168. sent into the west with an army, 171. his movements, 211, 213. comes before Exeter with his army, 214. the earl of Warwick attempts to relieve it, but succeeds not, 215. it surrenders to him upon articles, 219. fresh difference between him and the marquis of Hertford about the governorship of Weymouth, 220. what errors he committed after the reduction of Exeter, 316, 321. sits down before Dartmouth, and takes it, 322. sits down before Plymouth too late, 323. besieges Lyme, 481. which is relieved by the earl of Essex, 497, 573. lost much reputation by spending nearly two years against Plymouth and Lyme without taking either, 522, *n.* *W.* iv. 573. pursued by the earl of Essex, iv. 525. one of those officers who signed the letter to the earl of Essex urging him to a treaty, 538. present at the second battle of Newbury, 588. was governor of Worcester, v. 288. bishop Warburton says he excelled in nothing but plundering the

I N D E X.

country, *W.* iv. 497. his censures of his errors, iv. 573, 584.
 Maxwell, — gentleman usher of the black rod, i. 336, 525.
 May, — iii. 587, 588, 589.
 Maynard, John, *W.* ii. 34. his argument in parliament against the vote of no more addresses to the king, v. 516. abstained from parliament in consequence of this vote, 517. sent to the Tower by Cromwell for questioning the legality of a commitment, vii. 295, 296. bishop Warburton's observation on the strangeness of his conduct, *W.* in loc.
 Mazarine, cardinal, iv. 330. v. 352, 369, *n.* 383, 392, 410, 526. vi. 32, 310, 469. vii. 79, 80, 174, 227, 286, 297, 318, 345, 356. *W.* v. 349. presides over the French counsels, iv. 329. v. 348. reason of his rise, v. 348. notice of him, *ib.* his supposed views with regard to England, iv. 329, 332. v. 349. why more inclined to aid Charles I. after the battle of Naseby, v. 350. lord Digby's transactions with him, 375. his views as to the prince of Wales's going into France, 413. promised to supply the marquis of Ormond with arms and ammunition on his return into Ireland, 524. did not do so from fear of the English parliament, 556. vi. 32, 340, *n.* gives no encouragement to the king's party, vi. 141. courted Cromwell, 248. bought some of Charles I.'s rich furniture, *ib.* gives the marquis of Mountrose no encouragement, 285. glad at the departure of Charles II. from Paris, 352. the prince of Condé breaks his friendship with him, 353. 355. one of the exceptions

the prince had against him, 358. fears an attempt on his person from the cabals in consequence, 355. lord Cottington and the chancellor wait upon him in their way to Spain, 356. his message to don Lewis de Haro by them, which he afterwards disavows, *ib.* the duke of Espernon his fast friend, 357. causes the imprisonment of the princes of Condé and Conti, and of the duke of Longueville, and the flight of marshal Turenne, 376, *n.* 378. engages twenty thousand Irish in the service of France, 430. the English parliament at first more disposed to a peace with Spain than France, from their prejudice to him, 441. first suggested the idea of the duke of York's entering the French service, 559. being pressed by the parliament of Paris, is obliged to set the princes at liberty again, 583. tumult at Paris against him, *ib.* why he resents not the capture of a French fleet by the English, but sends an ambassador into England, 605. proceeds in a treaty with Cromwell, vii. 49. pays Charles II. all the arrears of his salary from France, 82. throws difficulties in the way of the king's selling some cannon, 83. why he gives the duke of York notice to quit the French service, 229. the earl of Bristol ordered to leave France owing to him, 230. Cromwell's influence over him, 300. advised by the queen-mother of France to make a peace between France and Spain, 340. his arguments against it, *ib.* why he at last yielded, 341. his promises to

INDEX.

- Lockhart touching his adhering to the parliament, 342. two particulars of difficulty in the treaty with Spain referred to a personal conference between him and don Lewis de Haro, 343. at Fuentarabia, 344. advises against Charles II. being present at it, 345. how he and don Lewis de Haro settled the points of difficulty, 349—355. how he deluded the pope as to this treaty, 355. deceived Lockhart also as to the treaty, who was in general too hard for him, 357. would not see Charles II. when he came to Fuentarabia, 360. offers to make Lockhart a marshal of France if he would deliver up Dunkirk and Mardike to the French, 449. persuades the queen-mother of England to send lord Jermyn to invite the king into France upon the prospect of his restoration, 493. his death, 357, 506, *n*.
- Meath, Anthony Martin, bishop of, a lord justice in Ireland, *iv*. 393.
- Medina Celi, duke de, *vi*. 383, 442.
- Medina de los Torres, duke de, one of the Spanish council of state, *vi*. 382. notice of, 385, *n*.
- Meldrum, sir John, *iv*. 442, 444, *n*.
- Melleray, marshal, governor of Nantes, *vii*. 78.
- Melos, Francisco de, governor of Flanders, discountenances any preparations in favour of Charles I. *iii*. 357. one of the Spanish council of state, *vi*. 383. notice of him, 386, *n*. lost the battle of Rocroix to the prince of Condé, 387, *n*.
- Members; five members of the house of commons accused of high treason by order of Charles I. *ii*. 124. the articles against them, *ib*. a sergeant at arms demands them in the house of commons, 125. the king goes to the house to demand them, 126. they remove into the city, 130. where the king goes after them, *ib*. a declaration of the commons touching them, 156. they are brought in triumph to Westminster, 164.
- Memorial to the pope against his nuncio in Ireland, *viii*. 68.
- Mennes, sir John, rear-admiral, unquestionably loyal, *iii*. 112. refused to act under the earl of Warwick as admiral, and is discharged, 114, 590. commands a ship in the prince of Wales's fleet, *vi*. 150. sent to Zealand, *vii*. 135.
- Mentz, elector of, the wisest and most practical prince of the German empire, *viii*. 105. a small subsidy granted by the diet to Charles II. chiefly through him, 105, 106.
- Merchant-Tailors' hall, the committee of the house of commons that removed into the city for safety sat there, *ii*. 133.
- Merrick, sir John, made general of the parliament's ordinance, *iv*. 27.
- Merton college, Oxford, queen Henrietta lodged there, 1643. *iv*. 263.
- Mervin, colonel Audly, *iii*. 477.
- Message from the king at Windsor to both houses of parliament, *ii*. 176. and January 20. 191. and in his way to York, 290. from both houses to him, March 28, 1642. 335. his answer, *ib*. from him to them, April 8, 1642. offering to go

INDEX.

in person to Ireland, 356. their answer, 360. his reply touching his going to Ireland, 365. from him to them, April 28, 1642. concerning his refusal to pass the bill for the militia, 375. and concerning Hull, 386. and again concerning Hull, 387. their answer to these two messages, 398. his reply, 400. the king consults at Nottingham of sending a message for peace to both houses, iii. 203. the message 207. their answer, 211. another message from him to them, 212. their answer, 214. another from him in reply, 218. from him at Reading to them, 331. substance of his message to the privy-council of Scotland upon occasion of the two houses' declaration to that kingdom, 344. from him to both houses, April 12, 1643. iv. 14. and May 20. 53. and March 3. 412. their answer, 413. the king sends a message of peace, 561. he sends another message for peace, which was laid aside by the houses, v. 338. the parliament send a message to him to pass four acts, 506. his answer, 507. the substance of the message of both houses to him, August 1648. vi. 106. his answer, 107. the queen's first message to Charles II. 269. Mountague's message to him, vii. 491. message from the lord deputy of Ireland to the duke of Lorraine's ambassador, viii. 210.

Mexico, vice-king of, vii. 190.

Middlesex, Lionel Cranfield, first earl of, i. 19. iii. 380. was lord high treasurer, i. 19, 84. both his rise and fall owing to the duke of Buckingham, 39, 40.

impeached, 40. unjust sentence against him, 42. James I.'s prophetic declaration relative to this impeachment, 41.

Middlesex, Lionel Cranfield, third and last earl of, one of the committee sent by parliament to wait on Charles II. at the Hague, vii. 499.

Middleton, colonel, afterwards lieutenant general, sir Thomas, iv. 395, 544, 561, 571, 578. vi. 577, 578, 579, 582. defeated in a skirmish by sir C. Lucas, iv. 139. notice of him, 543. unsuccessful against Donnington castle, *ib.* assembles some troops in Scotland, vi. 282. had very entire affection for Charles II. 485. commands the horse of Charles II.'s Scotch army, 488. Lesley, Charles's lieutenant general, jealous of him because he was generally beloved, 509. the part of the army where he was, made a brave resistance at the battle of Worcester, 511. wounded, 511, 576. taken prisoner, and sent to the Tower, 576. designed to be tried by a high court of justice, 577. makes his escape into France, *ib.* is sent into Scotland, vii. 53, 54, 58. his successes, 109. his defeat, 111. joins sir G. Booth in his attempt on Chester, 323, 332. their declaration, 332. delivers up his castle to Lambert, 335.

Mildmay, sir Henry, i. 308. one of the committee of the house of commons appointed to sit during the recess, ii. 10. one of the murderers of Charles I. vi. 235. notice of his rise and conduct, 234. the princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester intrusted to his

INDEX.

care as governor of Carisbrook castle, vii. 86.

Militia, sir A. Haslerig prefers a bill for settling it, i. 486. Saint-John seconds it, 487. the bill read once, and no more, 488. a proposal in the commons for a committee to consider the present state and power of the militia, ii. 76. debated, 77. Saint-John declares the power of it not to be in the king, *ib.* he is appointed to bring in a bill to settle it, 79. the bill received, 80. passed the commons, 179. petitions from several counties concerning the militia, 206. how the bill passed the lords, 227. an ordinance agreed on by both houses for settling the militia, 253. the king's answer respecting the militia, 259. the reply of the commons, *ib.* his farther answer, 264. votes of both houses upon it, 268. and petition to the king, 269. his answer, 271. resolutions of both houses upon it, 272. votes of both houses concerning the militia, 292. the king's message to both houses concerning his refusal to pass the bill for the militia, 375. declaration of both houses concerning the militia, 404. (see Parliament.)

Milton, John, *W.* ii. 83. v. 385.

Mitton, colonel, vi. 42. he and colonel Langhorn seize on Shrewsbury for the parliament, v. 67.

Modena, duke of, vii. 232.

Mohun, lord, iv. 129, 536, 540. one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. his doubtful conduct, 424, 425. joined in the com-

mand of the king's forces in Cornwall, 425. not very gracious there, 426. present at the taking of Saltash, 429, 430. and at the battle near Stratton, iv. 98. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, 633.

Molesworth, major-general, v. 273, 281.

Monk, colonel George, afterwards duke of Albemarle, vii. 303, 395, 420. *W.* vii. 217, 394, 428, 498. distinguished himself in early life, in the Spanish and Dutch war, vii. 319. had formerly served the king, vi. 343. vii. 380. was sometime imprisoned in the Tower, *ib.* having been taken prisoner at Nantwich, vii. 380. prevailed with to serve the parliament against the Irish, as that would not be against the king, vi. 343. vii. 380. by the parliament's instructions he treats privately with O'Neile, 425. parliament refuses to ratify this treaty, 426. compelled to surrender Dundalk to lord Inchiquin, viii. 91, 92. left by Cromwell in Scotland, vi. 493. where he made himself terrible, 494, 578, 611. called out of Scotland by Cromwell, and made one of his admirals, vii. 21. after the Dutch war returns to the government of Scotland, 33. the state of that kingdom under him, 52. the earl of Glencarne, who had received a commission from Charles II. makes his peace with him, 54. being Lambert's rival, would not have allowed him to be protector, 104. declares his obedience to parlia-

INDEX.

ment, 318. appointed by parliament one of the seven commissioners to govern the army, 370. Cobbet sent into Scotland to him by the committee of safety, 375. writes to the officers of the army declaring for the parliament, 377. possesses Berwick, *ib.* imprisons Cobbet, *ib.* purges his army of fanatics, *ib.* Lambert sent against him, 378. they send charges &c. to him, *ib.* his answer to them, *ib.* appoints three commissioners to treat with the officers of the army at London, 379. they at London accept of a treaty, *ib.* a particular account of him, and of the previous circumstances of his life, *ib.* his jealousy of Lambert before this time, 385. calls together an assembly of the Scottish nation, *ib.* his discourse to them, 386. observations on his intentions as to Charles II. 395, 396. *W. in loc.* marches towards London, vii. 397. the parliament desire that part of his forces may be sent back to Scotland, *ib.* comes to York, *ib.* addresses to him from all counties as he passed, 398. the city sent to him by their sword-bearer to the same purpose, *ib.* his manner of receiving these addresses, *ib.* the parliament send Scot and Robinson to meet him, 399. at St. Alban's he sends to the parliament to have the other regiments moved out of town, 400. the parliament give orders accordingly, *ib.* he marches into London, 401. is conducted to parliament, and complimented by the speaker, 402. his reply, 403. sent by parliament to reduce the common council of the city to obedience, 405. re-

VOL. VIII.

turns to Whitehall, 406. the parliament resolve to join others in commission with him, *ib.* his officers discontented at this neglect of the parliament towards him, 407. this awakens him, 408. he marches again into the city, and sends an expostulatory letter to the parliament, 409. this letter printed and dispersed, 410. meets the lord mayor and common council, excuses what was past, and promises to stand by them, and they by him, *ib.* great rejoicings in the city upon it, *ib.* the parliament send some members to treat with him, 411. he engages them in a conference with some excluded members, *ib.* returns to Whitehall, 412. sends for members of both parties, *ib.* delivers his mind to them in a paper, *ib.* the parliament reform the navy, making him and Mountague admirals, 432, 433. his counsels at this time, 439. had a conference with divers at Northumberland house, about the restoration of Charles II. *ib.* consults with Mr. Morrice, 441. what wrought most upon him in favour of the king, 442. sends sir J. Greenvil to negotiate with him, 443, 445. the king's deliberations upon the terms proposed by him, 447. advised the king's letters to parliament, &c. 451. the king's letter to him and the army, 454. his behaviour after this time, 471. offered all the authority Cromwell had, and the title of king, *ib.* bishop Warburton says this offer was too late, *W. in loc.* acquaints the parliament of the arrival of these letters from the king, vii.

B b

I N D E X.

478. the king confers the order of the garter upon him, 504. in what, according to bishop Warburton, he shewed an understanding superior to Lambert's, *W.* vii. 375. in the opinion of the bishop, he never had any purpose to serve the king, till he saw it was in vain to think of serving any body else, 396, 407, 425, 442, 444. what, according to the bishop, prevented his becoming protector, 406.
- Monk, reverend — notice of, vii. 383. his effort to gain over his brother, general Monk, to serve the king, 384.
- Monmouth, Henry Carey, second and last earl of, one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571.
- Monroe, sir George, vi. 50. having entered England, upon duke Hamilton's defeat retreats towards Scotland, vi. 89. the committee of the Scottish parliament order him to disband, 93.
- Monsieur, J. B. Gaston, duke of Orleans, v. 348.
- Montague, — a priest in the Roman catholic church, vi. 481. had great power with queen Henrietta, *ib.* the chancellor of the exchequer confers with him about Dr. Cosins's being prohibited to officiate to the protestants in the queen's family at Paris, 482. the duke of Gloucester committed to his care by the queen in order to pervert him in his religion, vii. 122. obliged to give him up, 123.
- Montague, (see Mountague.)
- Montgomery, Philip Herbert, earl of, (see earl of Pembroke.)
- Montgomery of the Ardes, viscount, viii. 103. drove sir C. Coote into Londonderry, viii. 90. O'Neile obliges him to raise the siege, 93.
- Montgomery, sir James, iii. 477.
- Montmorency, duke of, v. 348.
- Montrevil, — v. 358, 369, *n.* 382, 395. sent by the interposition of France to negotiate a treaty between Charles I. and the Scots, v. 345. his negotiation with the king, 351. his endeavours with both parties, 354. reason for his return to France, 381, 397. a farther account of his negotiation with the Scots, 383—392. why given, 383, 384. notice of him, 384. the paper he sent to the king, being a promise for the Scots receiving the king, 387.
- Montrose, marquis of, (see Mountrose.)
- Moore, Charles lord, second viscount Drogheda, defended Drogheda against Jones, viii. 101.
- Mora, Juan de, notice of, vi. 385, *n.*
- Moray, sir Robert, v. 352.
- Mordaunt, John, (afterwards viscount Avalon, vii. 469.) vi. 6. vii. 443, 451. active for Charles II. vii. 244. is seized on, owing to Mr. Stapley's discovery, and committed to the Tower, 245. tried before a high court of justice, 246. the means by which he escaped sentence, 247. set at liberty, 251. embarks again in the king's cause, *ib.* goes to Brussels to acquaint the king with the preparations, 321, 328. the king informs him of sir Richard Willis's betraying their designs, 329. known to be entirely trusted by the king, yet not molested, 432. goes over to Brussels with sir J. Greenvil, who carried instruc-

INDEX.

- tions from general Monk to the king, 445. and returns with him with despatches to England, 454.
- More, sir Thomas, *W.* i. 174.
- Moreland, — vii. 324.
- Moreton, sir Albert, i. 113.
- Moreton, Thomas, bishop of Durham, the earl of Essex had a great reverence for him, i. 409. one of the bishops who signed the protestation against their constrained absence from the house of lords, ii. 116.
- Moriton, (see Morton.)
- Morgan, sir Charles, i. 103.
- Morgan, major-general, vii. 387.
- Morley, colonel, iv. 552. vii. 377. one of the seven commissioners appointed by parliament to govern the army, vii. 370. he, Haslerig, and Walton go to Portsmouth, 376. which declares for the parliament, *ib.* he and Haslerig looked upon as invested with the authority of parliament, 388. they march towards London, 390. the consequences, *ib.*
- Morley, Dr. George, afterwards bishop of Winchester, one of the chaplains allowed by the army to attend Charles I. at Newmarket, v. 442. attended lord Capel to the scaffold, vi. 263.
- Morrice, colonel, notice of, vi. 112. first served the king, *ib.* then sided with the parliament, *ib.* why left out of their army when new modelled, 113. his subsequent conduct, *ib.* an account of his surprising Pontefract castle for the king, 113 — 118. would not accept the command of it, 119. concerned in the murder of Rainsborough there, 124. escaped when the castle was delivered up to Lambert, 125. taken in Lancashire and put to death, 126. bp. Warburton calls him a debauchee and a renegado, *W. in loc.*
- Morrice, afterwards sir William, notice of, vii. 441. consulted by general Monk concerning the restoration of Charles II. 441, 442. introduces sir J. Grenvil to Monk, 443. the transactions between him, Monk, and Grenvil, 444. recommended to the king for one of his secretaries of state, 454. he alone knew of Monk's having received a letter from the king, 471. knighted and made secretary of state by the king, 504.
- Morton, countess of, (see lady Dalkeith.)
- Morton, sir William, notice of, iv. 489.
- Morton, (see Moreton.)
- Moulins, — vii. 300.
- Mountague, sir Edward, lord chief justice, i. 96.
- Mountague, admiral, Edward, afterwards made earl of Sandwich, *W.* vii. 17. sent to join with Blake, and put in commission with him, vii. 189. the parliament reform the navy by making him and Monk admirals, 432. an account of him, 433. suspected of favouring the king, 437. his message to him, 491. goes with the fleet to Holland, and presents his duty to the king, and duke of York, 498. this expedition never forgiven him by some, *ib.* particularly not by Monk, according to bishop Warburton, *W. in loc.* the garter sent to him by the king, vii. 504.
- Mountague of Boughton, Edward lord, notice of, iii. 227. imprisoned by the parliament for being dissatisfied with their proceedings against the

INDEX.

- king and concerning the militia, iii. 227. iv. 630.
- Mountague, Edward, (son of the preceding,) succeeds in gaining over his cousin, admiral Mountague, to the king, vii. 435, 436. sent by the admiral to tell the king he would obey his orders, 491.
- Mountague, sir Sidney, iii. 382.
- Mountague, Walter, ii. 589. iv. 330. vii. 364, 365. *W.* iv. 330.
- Mountague, (see Montague.)
- Mounterey, duke de, one of the Spanish council of state, vi. 382. what situations he had held, 385, *n.* notice of him, *ib.*
- Mountnorris, Francis Annesley, viscount, the earl of Strafford's severe conduct towards him, i. 265, 383, 386, 387. his rise, 389.
- Mountrose, (Montrose,) James Graham, fifth earl of, afterwards marquis of, iv. 368, 513. v. 230, 291, 326, 330, 385, 390. vi. 308, 315, 316, 397, *n.* transactions in Scotland respecting him, Argyle, and Hamilton, ii. 16, 575. his enmity to Argyle, 17. the king declines his offer of having Argyle and Hamilton made away with, *ib.* bishop Warburton's comment on this offer, *W. in loc.* comes to the king and informs him of the state of Scotland, iv. 431. one of those who accused duke Hamilton of treason, 432, 628. one of those appointed to examine into the charges against the duke, 433. most hated and contemned the marquis of Argyle, v. 92. an account of his expedition into Scotland, 91. which he nearly reduced, 246. defeated by David Lesley, 248. the king gives up the idea of joining him, 248, 285, 291. the king sends to him to disband, which he did, 408. arrives in France, vi. 284. thence goes into Germany, 285. the chancellor of the exchequer sent to confer with him in a village near the Hague, 286. who thought the king ought to have welcomed him at once, *ib.* he comes to the Hague, 287. certain Scotch lords of the engagement refuse even to be in the same room with him, 288, 289. earl of Lauderdale's discourse against him, 290. conference between duke Hamilton and an English privy counsellor concerning the affairs of Scotland, in which he was concerned, 293—296. his dependants kill Dorislaus, an agent of the English parliament at the Hague, 298. impossible to bring the Hamiltonian party to cooperate with him, 306. his feeling with respect to the chancellor of the exchequer's going ambassador into Spain, 313. his object in going to Hamburgh, 315—317, 408. his design against Scotland, 410, 411. embarks for Scotland, lands there in March, 1649. 412. publishes his declaration, *ib.* the continuation of his affairs to his death, 413. colonel Straghan sent against him and his small forces, 414. by whom he is routed, 415. taken prisoner, *ib.* brought to Edinburgh, 416. brought before the parliament, 417. his behaviour there, *ib.* the sentence against him, 419. his discourse with the presbyterian ministers, *ib.* his execution, 420. the execution of his officers, 421. his character, *ib.* notice of cardinal de Retz's admiration of his person, *W.* vi. 284.

INDEX.

- Mount Stamford taken by the king's forces, iv. 316.
- Mowbray and Maltravers, Henry Frederick Howard, lord, afterwards earl of Arundel, he and the earl of Pembroke committed to the Tower for a quarrel in the house of lords, i. 460. iii. 555, *n.* one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 71, 571. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632.
- Moyle, lieutenant colonel Nathaniel, killed at the siege of Bristol, iv. 151, 615.
- Muddyford, — one of the commissioners for the associated county of Devon, v. 152.
- Mulgrave, Edmund Sheffield, first earl of, iv. 89. one of the few peers who attended parliament, 1643. iv. 403, 630.
- Murray, Charles, v. 334.
- Murray, William, of the king's bedchamber, ii. 17, 575, 576, 128, 608. much trusted by Charles I. ii. 575. an avowed enemy to marquis Hamilton, 576. lord Digby had a great friendship with him, 128. one of those the parliament wished to be removed from the king, 187.
- Musgrave, sir Philip, taken prisoner at Chester, v. 285. notice of him, *ib.* he and sir M. Langdale, and others, treated with by the Scots, and invited into Scotland, whither they went, vi. 12. their proceedings, 16, 45, 47. he surprises Carlisle, 51, 52, 53, 55. which was delivered up again to parliament, 89, 90. transports himself into Holland, 91.
- Muskerry, Charles Macarthy, viscount, viii. 33. married the marquis of Ormond's sister, vi. 147. was the most powerful person, and of the greatest interest in Munster, *ib.* sent as a commissioner from Ireland to the queen and prince of Wales at Paris, viii. 74. commanded an Irish regiment in the service of France at Condé, vii. 225. his scruples about serving the Spanish instead, 226. which he however does, 228.

N.

- Nantwich surrendered to lord Grandison, iii. 259, *n.* lord Byron defeated there by sir T. Fairfax, iv. 424, *n.* 429.
- Naseby, battle of, v. 183.
- Navy possessed by the parliament, iii. 114. (see Fleet.)
- Needsdale, lord, iv. 628.
- Neve, sir William le, Clarencieux king at arms, iii. 284, 636.
- Nevil, sir Henry, ambassador at Paris, i. 114.
- Newark, a garrison fixed there by the earl of Newcastle, iij. 446. relieved by prince Rupert, iv. 443. condition of its garrison at the king's arrival, 1645. v. 288. lord Bellasis made its governor, 297, 300. ordered by the king to surrender it, 396. and why, *ib.*
- Newark, Henry Pierrepont, viscount, afterwards second earl of Kingston and first marquis of Dorchester, one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. (as earl of Kingston) one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632. one of the king's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 37.

I N D E X.

Newburgh, James Livingston, viscount, afterwards first earl of, vi. 578, 579, 582. married lady Aubigny, vi. 221. how he and his wife served the king, *ib.* they fled to the Hague, 291. notice of his education, 292. has the command of one of the four regiments raised by Charles II. from his subjects in Flanders, vii. 225.

Newburgh, duke of, in Germany, (the father,) reasons for his turning Roman catholic, vii. 117.

Newburgh, duke of, in Germany, (the son,) vii. 127, 353. entertains Charles II. vii. 116. his character, 117. a zealous Roman catholic, *ib.* twice married, 118. his discourse with Charles II. about applying to pope Alexander VII. for assistance, 124.

Newburgh, duchess of, vii. 118.

Newburn, lord Conway routed there by the Scotch covenanters, i. 255.

Newbury, battle of, iv. 235. second battle of, 582.

Newcastle, secured for the king iii. 102, 119.

Newcastle, William Cavendish, first earl of, afterwards marquis of, ii. 180, 381. iii. 491. iv. 53. v. 118. sumptuously entertains king Charles on his way to Scotland to be crowned, i. 139. furnished a troop of horse in the Scotch expedition, 220. notice of him, 220. iii. 546. was governor to the prince of Wales, i. 220. his zeal in the king's cause remarkable, 472. resigns his place of governor to the prince, ii. 243. mention of him in the communications between the king and parliament, 388, 392, 393, 523, 524. iii.

25, 26, 404, 409. secures Newcastle for the king, iii. 102, 119. one of those excepted by parliament from being suffered to make peace with them on any terms, 239. was made governor of Newcastle, 442. goes from Newcastle into York, 441, 443. high in the queen's favour, 444. receives her upon her landing at Burlington, 445. fixes a garrison at Newark, 446. notice of his declaration of his reasons for marching into Yorkshire, 498, 501, 519. his success there, 551, *n.* iv. 137, *n.* 195, *n.* imprisoned lord Savile, iii. 549. why he could not march into the associated counties, iv. 196, 224, *n.* made a marquis, 618, 347. drove lord Fairfax into Hull, 618. what advantage might have arisen from his then marching into the associated counties, *ib.* obliged to raise the siege of Hull, 324, 347. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, 349, 632. marches to oppose the Scots, 421. retires to York, upon colonel Bellasis's defeat, 422, 443, 464, 466. quits the kingdom after the battle of Marston-moor, 510. observations on his conduct and his character, 516. Wellbeck, a house of his in Nottinghamshire; made one of the king's garrisons, v. 246. lord Withrington had an entire friendship with him, vi. 504. and accompanied him abroad, 505. he resides at Antwerp, 616. bishop Warburton calls him a poor fantastic general, iv. 422. and a fantastical virtuoso on horseback, 512. what motives

INDEX.

- the bishop assigns for the marquis's love of monarchy and the church, 517. other observations of the bishop respecting him, 464, 513, 516, 519, 520, 521.
- Newcastle, John Holles, duke of, *W.* iv. 206.
- New College, Oxford, iii. 565.
- New England, colony of, notice of its foundation, i. 327. the mischief done to it by sir Harry Vane, junior, *ib.*
- Newport, Mountjoy Blount, first earl of, i. 110. v. 234, *n.* one of those who signed the declaration, that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. and the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632.
- Newport, — Dutch ambassador at London, vi. 86.
- Newport, Francis, iii. 257, *n.*
- Newport, sir Richard, notice of, iii. 257, *n.* made baron Newport of Erccall, 258, *n.* ready, with others, to secure Shrewsbury for Charles II. vii. 323.
- Newport in the Isle of Wight, treaty there between Charles I. and the parliament commissioners, vi. 109. particulars of it, 152—187.
- Newport Pannel possessed by the parliament forces, iv. 315.
- Newton, — i. 312.
- Neyl, Richard, bishop of Durham, i. 350.
- Nicholas, afterwards sir Edward, secretary of state, ii. 334, iv. 356. vi. 21, 22, 338, 617. vii. 137. notice of, ii. 600. made secretary of state, *ib.* one of those who signed the declaration, that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. one of those excepted by parliament from making peace with them on any terms, 240. some account of him, 549. bishop Warburton's observation on it, *W.* in *loc.* one of those appointed to examine into the charges against duke Hamilton, iv. 433. one of the king's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 37. notice of his wife's dangerous illness, vi. 23, *n.* goes to Charles II. at Aken, who gives him the signet, vii. 108. persuaded the chancellor of the exchequer to accept the great seal, 237.
- Nicholas, John, vii. 135.
- Niddisdale, (Nithsdale,) Robert Maxwell, first earl of, present with lord Digby when routed at Sherborne, v. 292, 293. goes into Ireland, 293, 294.
- Nismes, account of a faction in the election of its consuls, vii. 298. Cromwell's interference, 300.
- Nithsdale, earl of, (see Niddisdale.)
- Norcot, sir John, iii. 225.
- Northampton, Spencer Compton, second earl of, iii. 608, 187, *n.* 188, *n.* one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 71, 571. the command of the garrison at Banbury committed to him, 298. relieves Stafford, 456. slain at Hopton-heath, having first vanquished the enemy's horse, 457, 458. his character, 459.
- Northampton, third earl of, (see lord Compton.)
- Northern parts, an account of their disposition about the end of 1643. iii. 435.
- Northumberland, Henry Percy, ninth earl of, imprisoned in

I N D E X.

the Tower, under suspicion of having some knowledge of the gunpowder treason, iii. 552. released through the mediation of the earl of Carlisle, who had married his daughter, against his consent, *ib.*

Northumberland, Algernon Percy, tenth earl of, lord high admiral, i. 328, 392, 401, 402, 469, 487. ii. 290. iii. 131, 156, 475. iv. 327. appointed general of the second expedition against the Scotch covenanters, i. 248. generally esteemed, 249. instrumental in the appointment of lord Conway to be general of the horse, who was very dear to him, 250. too ill to take the command, 254. gave up his commission, 477. ii. 596. high admiral of England, i. 328. ii. 603. his defection from the king's service, i. 473. ii. 603. the honours the king had conferred upon him, i. 474. ii. 603. iii. 552. origin of his quarrel with his brother lord Percy, i. 474, 475. declares that whoever of the house of lords refused to join with the house of commons respecting the militia, was an enemy to the commonwealth, ii. 226. parliament send to him to provide a fleet, 272. urged by parliament to appoint the earl of Warwick his admiral of the fleet, 333. the king writes to him, that sir J. Pennington should have the command, 334. he appoints the earl, 337. moved for a committee to consider how there might be an accommodation between the king and his people, which was appointed, 504. his commission of lord high admiral revoked

by the king, iii. 106—112. refuses to retain his post at the desire of parliament against the king's consent, 113, 588. why the parliament did not force the measure upon him, 588. one of those who presented a petition from both houses to the king, 321, 323. one of the commissioners sent by parliament to the king with propositions of peace, January 1643. 402, 403. his interest saved the earl of Leicester from a public exception by parliament, 475. one of those chosen again by parliament to treat with the king, 485, 486, 528. his character, 551. what advantages might have arisen had the king reappointed him lord high admiral, iv. 18. cudgelled Mr. Martin after a conference of the two houses in the painted chamber, for having opened a letter of his to his lady, iv. 17, 51. which increased the divisions of the counsels at Westminster, 205. how far concerned in the design of Mr. Waller and Mr. Tomkins, for the king, 61, 68. the violent party afraid to proceed harshly against him, 77. one of those who were weary of the war, 139. retires for his health to his house at Petworth with leave of parliament, 193, 209. would have joined the king, had the other lords, who first made the experiment, been well received, 209, 266. that not being the case, he returns to parliament, and is received with great respect, 271, 338, *n.* surmises on his not being appointed lord high admiral by the parliament, 341. one of the few

INDEX.

- peers who now attended parliament, 403, 629. one of the parliament's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 36. his part, 42. his feelings as to the state of affairs in 1644. 73. was the proudest man alive, *ib.* one of those in whom the militia was proposed to be vested for seven or eight years, 78. the dukes of York and Gloucester, and the princess, committed to his care, 453, 471, *n.* how treated by him, *ib.* are removed from his care, vii. 85. withdrew with others from parliament to the army, v. 462. the consequence of this step, 464. Monk had a conference with him and others concerning the restoration of Charles II. vii. 440.
- Norton, sir Daniel, i. 49.
- Norton, colonel, iv. 552, 557.
- Norton, ——— vi. 528, 529, 530, 531, 533.
- Norwich, earl of, (see lord George Goring.)
- Nottingham, Daniel Finch, second earl of, bishop Warburton's remark on a passage omitted, as he supposes, by lord Clarendon's editors out of civility to him, *W.* i. 522.
- Noy, sir William, attorney-general, i. 501. iv. 89, *n.* his character, i. 129. framed the odious project respecting soap, 130. drew up the writ for ship-money, *ib.*
- Nuncio of the pope in Ireland, J. B. Ranucini, archbishop of Firmo, viii. 75, 82. his part in the treaty, 1645. viii. 26. thanks Fanning for the outrages he had committed at Limerick, 29. assumes the supreme power, 30. unites general Preston with himself, and marches as generalissimo towards Dublin, 31, 37. concerned in the decree of excommunication against such as were disposed to peace, 36. obliged to raise the siege of Dublin, 46. his usurpation opposed by the marquis of Clanrickard and viscount Taaffe, though Roman catholics, 66. the confederate catholics make war on him, 67. and besiege him in Galway, *ib.* compelled to fly from Ireland, 68. memorial to the pope against him, *ib.*
- Nye, ——— one of the parliament divines sent by them as a commissioner into Scotland for relief, iv. 153.
- O.
- Oath, (see Coronation oath.)
- O'Connell, Owen, ii. 20, 582, 276.
- Officers repel the rabble about Whitehall, ii. 92. consultation among the officers what to do with the king, 1649. vi. 224. conclude to have him publicly tried, 227. the officers meet, and choose Fleetwood general, &c. vii. 372. (see Army.)
- Offices, great, designed for some heads of the popular party, i. 369.
- Ogilby, lord, one of those who accused duke Hamilton of treason, iv. 433, 628.
- Ogle, sir William, iv. 554, 555. seizes Winchester castle for Charles I. iv. 425, *n.* 449.
- Ogniate, Mark, serviceable to Charles II. at Bruges, vii. 278.
- Olivarez, duke of, vi. 383. particulars of his quarrel with the duke of Buckingham, i. 63. his removal from the Spanish court imputed to the marquis of Grana, vi. 375, *n.* raised

I N D E X.

- the duke of Medina de los Torres, who had married his daughter, 385, *n*.
- Olivarez, duchess of, notice of, i. 67.
- Oliver, receiver to the duke of Buckingham, i. 60.
- Oliver, (see Cromwell.)
- O'Neile, Daniel, nephew of Owen O'Neile, i. 279. iii. 593, 594. vii. 239. viii. 55, 56, 106. notice of his character and previous life, v. 98. an enemy to the earl of Stafford, 99. his views and expectations, 99, 100. his part in the earl of Mountrose's expedition into Scotland in favour of the king, 101—112. banished from Scotland, whither he had accompanied Charles II. vi. 437. accompanies Charles II. to Fuentarabia, vii. 347, 358. his duty on the journey, 348.
- O'Neile, (O'Neal,) Hugh, viii. 144.
- O'Neile, (O'Neal,) general, Owen Roe, iv. 423, *n*. vi. 389. viii. 90, 112, 148, 149. his character, vi. 145. viii. 56. supports the disorders at Limerick, viii. 29. endeavours to surprise the lord lieutenant, *ib*. had the command of all the Irish in Ulster, and was the best general they had, vi. 305, 311. enters the queen's county, viii. 31. his and Preston's letter to the lord lieutenant with the propositions annexed, viii. 37—39. he and the nuncio compelled to raise the siege of Dublin, 46. message from him to the lord lieutenant, 55. writes to the supreme council for a cessation, 56. his advice how received, *ib*. the confederate catholics make war on him and the nuncio, 67, 75. refused to submit to the articles of peace in Ireland, though confirmed by the catholic council at Kilkenny, viii. 82, 83, 106. vi. 146, 305, 342. for what reasons, vi. 342. 424. acts in concert with the English rebels, viii. 91, 106. a body of his army defeated by lord Inchiquin, 92. he relieves the English rebels in Londonderry, *ib*. Monk treats privately with him, by order of parliament, vi. 425. who, notwithstanding, refuse to ratify the treaty, 426. viii. 108. enters into an engagement with the lord lieutenant in consequence, vi. 427. viii. 108. died as he was going to join him, vi. 548. viii. 108, 145.
- O'Neil, sir Phelim, leader of the rebellion in Ireland, ii. 22, 583.
- O'Neil, major-general, viii. 224.
- O'Neils, the, vii. 144.
- Onslow, colonel, iv. 552.
- Oquendo, — vi. 460.
- Orange, Henry Frederic de Nassau, prince of, i. 279. iii. 166, 444, 445. iv. 522. vi. 468. vii. 116. well disposed towards Charles I. yet unable to do much for him, iii. 102, 357. accused by the English parliament for supplying the king with arms, &c. 354.
- Orange, William X. de Nassau, prince of, v. 472. vi. 33, 36, 79, 213, 297, 308, 320, 330, 401, 403. supplied Charles II. with necessaries, vi. 269. advises that the king should refer all matters of religion to a national synod, 318. and that there should be no sharpness in the king's proposed declaration, 319. supplies the king with twenty thousand pounds,

I N D E X.

- 323—325. advises him to accede to the terms offered by the Scotch, 399. died of the small-pox, 468, 470. a prince of great hope and expectation, *ib.* why he adhered to that party in the States that inclined more to France than to Spain, 469. Charles II. lost a sure friend in him, 470. in what respects benefited by him, *ib.*
- Orange, William Henry de Nassau, prince of, one of the articles of peace between Cromwell and the Dutch was, never to admit the prince of Orange to be their stateholder, general, or admiral, vii. 25.
- Orange, Emilie de Solms, princess of, vii. 111.
- Orange, Mary, daughter of Charles I. princess of, ii. 233, 262. v. 347, 472. vi. 19, 33, 79, 308. vii. 79, 236. delivered of a son shortly after her husband's death, vi. 470. dependent on the States, 483. resides at Spa with Charles II. vii. 104. removes with him to Aken, 107. and to Cologne, 112. differences between her and the princess dowager, 111. visits the duke of Newburgh, 116. returns to Holland, 119.
- Order of parliament, to disarm papists, ii. 3. concerning Hull, 295. against pawning the jewels of the crown, iii. 46. order for bringing in money and plate for maintaining horse, 59. orders from the admiralty in Holland to their fleet, not to strike to the English, vi. 597. Cromwell's order for decimating the property of the king's party, vii. 161.
- Ordinance of parliament, for a day of thanksgiving, on occasion of the pacification with Scotland, ii. 8. for settling the militia, 253. for raising money upon public faith, iii. 334. for a reassessment of the city of London, 371, 372. for a weekly assessment on the whole kingdom, 493. to forbid the next assizes and gaol-delivery, 536. for raising an army under the earl of Manchester, iv. 190. the self-denying ordinance proposed by Vane and Cromwell, v. 21. passed the commons, 24, 90. and the lords, 131. set aside when it had effected its purpose, 430. archbishop Laud condemned by an ordinance, 32. the parliament's ordinance upon the king's desiring a personal treaty with them, 342.
- Orleans, duke of, v. 413. vi. 585. notice of lord Cottington's interview with him, vi. 355. visited Charles II. with civility, 584. alteration of his conduct, 586. mademoiselle, his daughter, thought of as a wife for Charles II. 592.
- Orleans, duke of, (see Monsieur.)
- Orleans, duchess of, (see princess Henrietta.)
- Orleans, mademoiselle, daughter of the duke of, thought of as a wife for Charles II. vi. 592. the design comes to nothing, 594.
- Ormond, James Butler, twelfth earl of, afterwards marquis of, and duke of, i. 249, 254, 492. ii. 585, 588. iii. 483. iv. 355, 393. v. 93, 101, 113, 371, 479, 523. vi. 149, 270, 305, 349, 350, 351, 395, 396, 397, 423, 424, 428, 546, 569, 578, 579, 603, 615, 616. vii. 55, 56, 65, 66, 222, 228, 236, 243, 325, 327, 330, 420. viii. 25, 31, 49, 63, 71, 86, 90, 94, 105, 112, 113, 184, 185, 192, 193, 208. the vindication

I N D E X.

of his character from the aspersions of the titular bishop of Fernes one motive for lord Clarendon's writing the Short View of the State of Ireland, viii. 4. lieutenant general in Ireland to the earl of Strafford, i. 249. notice of his character and conduct, iii. 481. viii. 15, 16. victorious in the battle of Kilrush, viii. 17. beat general Preston at Rosse, viii. 17. iv. 90. agrees to a cessation with the Roman catholic Irish, viii. 18. iv. 363, 423, n. vindicated for so doing, viii. 19. continues it, 21. in this interval he sends assistance to Charles I. in England, iv. 423, n. resolved not to act under the earl of Leicester, who was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, iii. 481. made lord lieutenant in his stead, iv. 349, n. 350, 423. contemned the earl of Antrim, who entertained malice against him, v. 97, 103. goes to Kilkenny, where the assembly of confederate catholics sat, viii. 26. his return to Dublin attempted to be cut off by Owen O'Neile, 29, 31. haughty propositions to him from the confederate catholics, 38. the difficulties he lay under, 39. obliged to treat with the English parliament, 41. ratifies the marquis of Clanrickard's promises to the catholics, 44. general Preston and his officers enter into an engagement with him in consequence, 45. makes the marquis of Clanrickard general of the army, 46. defection of Preston's officers from him, 47. reduced to great hardships, 48. reasons for his putting Dublin into the hands of the English rather than the Irish, 50, 51. the king's instructions to him,

52. proposes to deliver Dublin to the English rebels, 54. which alarms the Irish confederates, *ib.* their overture to him, 55. message from O'Neile to him, *ib.* constrained to deliver up Dublin to the English rebels, and leave Ireland, 57. v. 477. false aspersions on him, viii. 57. vindication of him, 58. waits on the king at Hampton-court, and acquaints him with his care for his service, 62. v. 478, 521. forbidden to continue his attendance on the king by the English rebels, viii. 64. who violate their articles with him, *ib.* and banish him from London, 65. and give orders to seize him, *ib.* he secretly leaves England, and arrives in France, *ib.* v. 522. well received by queen Henrietta, v. 555. projects again to visit Ireland, viii. 65. reasons that moved him to it, v. 524. lord Inchiquin invites him into Munster, viii. 67. he in vain solicits supplies from France, 74. v. 556. arrives in Ireland with a small retinue, viii. 74. vi. 32, 147. his affairs there, vi. 141. the propositions of the parliament commissioners to the king at Newport against delinquents, especially the marquis of Ormond, 183. an account of the affairs in Ireland after his arrival, 340. writes to the assembly at Kilkenny, viii. 75. commissioners sent to treat with him, 76. invited to Kilkenny by the assembly, *ib.* peace concluded between them, 77. his speech to the assembly, 78. had to provide against O'Neile, who refused to submit to peace, 82. the many difficulties he had to struggle with, 83. bor-

INDEX.

rows money of the town, 85. takes Talbot's town and Castle Talbot, 87. and Kildare, *ib.* obliges Jones to raise his camp, *ib.* marches towards Dublin, 88. blocks it up, vi. 344. lord Inchiquin departs from him into Munster, *ib.* reviews his army, viii. 93. encamps at Rathmines, *ib.* defeated there by Jones, 97. vi. 345. his conduct in this battle, viii. 98. observations on it, 99. he retires to Kilkenny, 100. takes Ballysonan in his march, *ib.* which prevents Jones's pursuit, 101. obliges Jones to raise the siege of Drogheda, *ib.* receives advice of Cromwell's landing at Dublin, *ib.* provides for the defence of Drogheda, *ib.* which Cromwell however takes, 102. he treats with O'Neile, viii. 106—108. vi. 424. who however died before he joined him, viii. 108. vi. 548. his condition, vi. 546. why he did not fight Cromwell's army, viii. 111. forced to disband his army, but provides for the defence of Waterford, *ib.* relieves Farrell at Passage, and stops the pursuit of the rebels with a small party, 114. his designs obstructed by the influence of the popish clergy, 115. his army separates, 116. he expostulates with the commissioners of trust, *ib.* their advice to him, 118. to which he assents, *ib.* with an inconsiderable force obliges Cromwell to draw off from Kilkenny, 121. endeavours to preserve Limerick, 122. his conference with the commissioners of trust, 123. ingratitude of the Irish to him, 125. his representation to the Irish,

126. perseveres in his loyal endeavours, 128. his answer to the Irish pretended grievances, 131. resolves to leave Ireland, *ib.* the Irish concerned at this, address him, 132. his letter to the assembly at Loughreagh, 133. address on this letter, 138. alters his resolution of leaving Ireland, 140. letter from the mayor of Limerick to him, *ib.* his answer, 141. his proposals, 142. advances towards Limerick, 143. a mutiny thereon, *ib.* vi. 549. he escapes, vi. 549. repeated affronts to him, viii. 144. letter to him from the titular archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, 150. his answer, 151. letter of credit to him from the catholic bishops at Jamestown, 154. paper delivered to him by their two accredited agents, 156. appoints a meeting with the Irish bishops at Loughreagh, 157, 158. but rejected, and only two persons sent to receive his answer to their proposition, 158. whereupon they excommunicate all who should adhere to him, 159. and publish a declaration against him, 160. vi. 551. purport of it, viii. 161. vi. 551. untruth thereof, viii. 162. his conduct on the king's forced declaration, 179. his letter to the commissioners of trust, *ib.* their answer, 181. he calls an assembly at Loughreagh, 196. protestation of the bishops, *ib.* the assembly satisfied therewith, *ib.* which makes him resolve to leave the kingdom without a deputy, 197. letter from the assembly to him on this resolution, *ib.* his answer, 198. he deposes the marquis of Clanrickard, 199. vi. 554. leaves Ireland, viii. 199. and

INDEX.

- lands in France, 200. vi. 554. and waits on Charles II. at Paris, vi. 554. the friendship between him and the chancellor of the exchequer, 557, 558, *n.* one of the new council appointed by Charles II. 561. his and the chancellor of the exchequer's opinion concerning the king's affairs, 1652. 580. all who were angry with the chancellor of the exchequer were angry with him, vii. 58. sent into France by the king to fetch the duke of Gloucester, 122, 123. has the command of one of the four regiments raised by the king from his subjects in Flanders, 224. sent to treat with lord Muskerry about transferring his regiment from the French to the Spanish service, 225. his success, 226. his going into England occasioned by the transactions of the king's friends there, 238. returns, 242. present at the attempt upon Mar-dike, 277. particulars of his attending the king to Fuentarabia, 347, 348, 356, 358, 359, 360. attends him to Breda, 453. bishop Warburton's observation on his paltry behaviour towards lord Clarendon, when ruined afterwards by Charles II.'s courtiers, *W.* iii. 481.
- Orrery, earl of, (see lord Broghill.)
- Osborne, ——— concerned in an attempt for the king's escape from the Isle of Wight, vi. 193—195. accuses Rolph of a design on the king's life, 197.
- Ossory, David, titular bishop of, viii. 33, 34.
- Overal, John, bishop of Norwich, i. 157.
- Overbury, sir Thomas, the earl and countess of Somerset privy to his murder, i. 17. they are tried and condemned, *ib.*
- Overton, ——— v. 459. one of the seven commissioners appointed by parliament to govern the army, vii. 370.
- Owen, colonel, sir John, wounded at the siege of Bristol, iv. 151. tried before a new high court of justice, vi. 252. what for, *ib.* condemned, 255. pardoned by the house of commons, 261.
- Owen, John, bp. of St. Asaph, one of the bishops who signed the protestation against their constrained absence from the house of lords, ii. 116.
- Owen, Morgan, bp. of Landaff, one of the bishops who signed the protestation against their constrained absence from the house of lords, ii. 116.
- Owen, ——— *W.* v. 553.
- Oxford, university of, contributes plate and money for the use of Charles I. iii. 246, 317, 350. Oxford, owing to the university, the only city entirely at the king's devotion, 298, 317, *n.* troops formed of the scholars there, iv. 469. affairs there whilst the earl of Essex's army was before it, 482. affairs there during the king's absence in the west, 549. resolutions there upon lord Goring's arrival, v. 169. the university visited by the parliament, 481. reasons against the covenant passed in convocation there at this time, *ib.* learning, religion, and loyalty flourished there, notwithstanding these violent proceedings against it, 482.
- Oxford, Robert de Vere, 19th earl of, origin of his enmity with the duke of Buckingham, i. 57.
- Oxford, Aubrey de Vere, 20th and last earl of, one of the committee appointed by parliament

INDEX.

to wait on Charles II. at the Hague, vii. 499.
Oxford, bishop of, (see Robert Skinner.)

P.

Pacification, (see Peace.)

Packer, John, Donnington castle belonged to him, iv. 237.

Page, captain, afterwards lieutenant, iv. 540. v. 176. wounded in the second battle of Newbury, iv. 585, 586, 589.

Paget, William lord, ii. 606. concurred in the prosecution of abp. Laud and the earl of Strafford, i. 321. one of the governing voices in the house of lords, 347, *n.* made lord lieutenant of Bucks for his zeal in the parliament's service, iii. 65. deserts the parliament and joins the king at York, and undertakes to raise a regiment for him, 251, *n.* 252, *n.* one of those who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632.

Palatine, Frederic, elector, inexcusably incurred the ban of the empire, i. 27.

Palatine, (see Elector.)

Pale, origin and application of the term in Ireland, vi. 143.

Palmer, sir Henry, iii. 111, 112, 588, 589.

Palmer, Jeffery, v. 60, 339. offended the violent party in the house of commons by using decency towards the earl of Strafford on his trial, i. 383. dispute in the house upon his protesting against the printing of the remonstrance, ii. 43, 48. 62, *n.* one of the king's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 37.

Papists, their boldness and activity, about 1640. i. 261.

cashiered out of the army at the instigation of parliament, 317. the puritans endeavour to make them odious, 526. an order of parliament for disarming them all throughout England, ii. 3. petition of apprentices against them, 83. forbidden by the king to join his army against the parliament, iii. 610. (see Penal Laws.)

Parliament, certain days at the beginning of a session spent in formalities, i. 34. its old hours of sitting and other customs, 233, 234. the office of the lord steward of the king's house to swear the members of the commons before they sit, 233. all supplies must originate in the commons, 237. speaker of the house of commons usually a lawyer, 297. his election had always been by designation of the king, 519. not usual for the attorney-general to be a member of parliament, 369. forty members of the commons required to make a house, ii. 9. contrary to order that a rejected bill should be preferred again the same session, 24, 75, *n.* its privileges not meant to screen its members from being punished for treason, felony, or breaches of the peace, 139, 149. made to do so by the commons, 1642. 170. observations on its privileges, 195. no act done at any committee may be divulged before it be reported to the house at large, 159, and *n.* why the bishops do not constitute a distinct estate in parliament according to bishop Warburton, *W.* ii. 119. (see Lords.)

Parliament, Charles's declaration

I N D E X.

concerning, in his 4th year, i. 7. precipitate dissolutions of parliament, one cause of the future calamities, *ib.* temper and proceedings of the first parliaments, 8, 9. particularly against the duke of Buckingham, 45. good consequences that would have arisen from parliament's being allowed to impeach any of the king's ministers, 13. resolutions of parliament, 1628. for war against Spain upon hearing Buckingham's statement of prince Charles's journey thither, 38. a parliament after 12 years' discontinuance summoned April 1640. to support a war against the Scotch covenanters, 231, 512. sergent Glanville chosen speaker of the commons, 233. notice of Mr. Pym's and others' speeches concerning grievances, 234. the house of peers advise the commons to begin with a supply, 236, 514. this voted a breach of privilege by the commons, 237, 514. the king proposes to the commons to give up his claim of ship-money for twelve subsidies, 238, 514. debated, 239—245, 514. the parliament dissolved owing to misrepresentations of their proceedings, 245, 246. 516. public regrets at this step, 246. the king declares to the great council at York his resolutions to call a parliament, 273. parliament meets November 3, 1640. i. 295. its temper different from the last, i. 298. Mr. Lenthall made speaker, *ib.* Pym opens the debate of grievances, 299. the earl of Strafford's impeachment resolved on, i. 300—305. illegal pro-

ceedings of the commons respecting elections, 307, 308. certain severe acts passed, 308, 316. abp. Laud accused of high treason, 309. charge brought against lord Finch, 310. and secretary Windebank, 311. extraordinary proceedings against the earl of Strafford, 315. the temper of both houses at that time, and the character of their leading men, 317. a committee of both houses appointed to treat with the Scotch commissioners, 332. proceedings respecting the earl of Strafford's trial, 315, 335, 336, 376, 377, 394. disingenuity used in procuring petitions to parliament, 357. the new canons condemned by the commons, 361. money borrowed of the city by the two houses, for supplying the two armies, *ib.* the commons, why backward in voting money, 532. appoint commissioners to dispose of the two subsidies voted by them, 364. the same method afterwards continued, *ib.* a bill for a triennial parliament passed, 367, 495. a proposition for borrowing money in the city, 372. defeated by the factious party, 375. bill of attainder passed against the earl of Strafford, 397—406. those who voted against it placarded as Straffordians, or enemies to their country, 407. a bill passed the commons to take away the bishops' votes in parliament, 410. rejected in the lords, 415. sir E. Deering's bill brought in to do away with bishops, deans, and chapters, 416. laid by, 418. a vote passed both houses against the court of York, 418, 421. the ill use made by the com-

INDEX.

mons of the discovery of some correspondences between the court and some principal officers of the army, 438. protestation made by both houses to preserve their privileges, 441. the part inferring the maintenance of the church establishment is explained away by the commons, 444. a bill passed to compel all the subjects to take it, 445. how the commons resent the king's declaration before parliament, that he could not sign the bill condemning the earl of Strafford of treason, 448. the house of lords pass the bill, intimidated by the mob, 449, 450. the bill allowing parliament to dissolve itself passed, 456. by what arts obtained, 457. its effects on the commons, 475. the mention of the plot between the court and the army revived in the commons, 464. their bill respecting tonnage and poundage, 463. a gratuity voted to the Scotch army, 466. sir E. Deering's bill extirpating episcopacy revived and committed in the commons, 482. laid aside, 484. the king petitioned to defer his visit into Scotland, 485. sir A. Haslerig's bill for settling the militia, 486. seconded by St. John, 487. read once and no more, 488. parliament sits on a Sunday, in vain endeavouring to defer the king's journey any longer, 488, 489. prevails on the king not to allow any of the disbanded Irish army to enlist in the service of foreign princes, 492. its motives for so doing, 493. committees of both houses appointed to sit during the adjournment of parliament, 494. ii. 9. powers intrusted to them,

VOL. VIII.

ii. 9, 10. the business before the committee of the commons, 11. the various bills passed this parliament, 495. order of both houses to disarm all papists, ii. 3. declaration of the lords against certain ecclesiastical innovations of the commons, 7, 8. an ordinance of both houses for a day of thanksgiving on occasion of the pacification with Scotland, 8. a small committee of both houses attend the king into Scotland, 14. a guard appointed for the security of parliament upon its meeting again, 19. the Irish rebellion referred to parliament by the king, 22. 582. a committee revived for drawing up a remonstrance, 23. 591. a motion that the king might be desired not to appoint a privy-counsellor without the approbation of parliament, 24. n. a new bill brought in to take away bishops' votes, 24. 103, n. the commons offended at the king's filling up divers vacant bishoprics, 25. the committee for the remonstrance make their report, 40. the remonstrance carried by nine voices, 42. dispute concerning certain members protesting against its being printed, 43. it is ordered to be printed, 49. substance of it, *ib.* the ways by which the factious party grew in the commons, 57. the remonstrance and a petition presented to the king, 63. his answer to the petition, 65. a bill prepared in the commons for pressing men for Ireland, 68. the preamble of the bill excepted against by the lords, 69. the king's interference in any bill whilst pending declared a

c c

INDEX.

breach of privilege, 71. the bill concerning pressing passed, 73. debate concerning the militia, ii. 76—80. Saint-John to bring in a bill to settle it, 79. the commons petition for the renewal of a guard, 85. tumults of the mob about the house of lords, 86. encouraged by the commons, 87. watches appointed by the lords, *ib.* dismissed by the commons, 88. all the bishops, and many other members of both houses, intimidated from attending, 90. the commons accuse of treason all the bishops who protested respecting their constrained absence from parliament, 118. censure of this measure, 119. the consequences of this violent step would have been beneficial to the king, had not lord Digby's ill advice given fresh advantages to the commons, 122. the commons refuse to give up five of their members accused of treason by order of the king, 124—126. the king demands them in person, 126. reason for their taking refuge in the city, 130. and for concealing themselves for a time, 135. the commons adjourn themselves, and appoint a committee to sit in the city, 133. the lords adjourn, but appoint no committee, 133, 134. the committee of the commons well received in the city, 134. its transactions, 135, 155, 170. the king's going to the house of commons voted the highest breach of privilege by the house, 137, 138. the king's answer to the former remonstrance of the commons, 140. declaration of the commons

respecting the five members, 156. the five members required by the commons to resume their seats, 162. are brought in triumph to Westminster, 164. the Buckinghamshire petition to the commons, 166. and the house of lords, 168. the commons revive the votes passed by their committee in the city, and add more, 170. accuse lord Digby of high treason, upon pretence of levying war, 171. the orders of both houses respecting the Tower, Hull, and Portsmouth, 173. the commons vote a charge against, and impeach the attorney-general for impeaching their five members, 174, 258, 341. the king's message to both houses, 176. unopposed by them, 178. fresh committees of both houses appointed to sit in the city, *ib.* motive for removing there, *ib.* the commons pass Saint-John's militia bill, 179. both houses move the king, that the magazine at Hull might be removed to the Tower, 181. they send both the Hothams to Hull, *ib.* matter prepared for a new remonstrance by the committee at Grocers' hall, 185. the king's proposition and message to both houses, Jan. 20. 191. both houses petition him concerning the accused members, 192. his answer, *ib.* the commons, without the concurrence of the lords, petition the king to intrust the Tower of London and other forts to persons recommended by them, 198. his answer, 200. they resolve to carry their point, 203. they desire to borrow money of the city, 204. petitions from several

INDEX.

counties concerning the militia, 206. the commons adopt a new way of influencing the lords, 212. a petition to the commons from the porters of London, 221. and from the poor people, 222. the militia bill passed the lords, 226. and the bills touching the bishops' votes and pressing, 228. both houses adjourn again into London, *ib.* and petition the king touching the Tower of London, forts, and militia, *ib.* his answer concerning the militia, 234. the commons return him thanks, and request that sir J. Coniers should be made lieutenant of the Tower, 235. which is granted, 236. the king's demand of reparation for an expression in Mr. Pym's printed speech, 238. their answer, 239. his reply, 240. they persist in defending the expression, 242. the ordinance agreed on by both houses for settling the militia, 253. the king's answer concerning the militia, 259. the reply of the commons, *ib.* the twelve imprisoned bishops bailed by the lords, 260. recommitted by the commons, 261. divers counties exercise the power of the militia at the instigation of the commons, *ib.* the commons raise money under pretence of relieving Ireland, *ib.* and endeavour to prevent the prince of Wales from removing from Hampton-court to Greenwich to meet his father, 262. upon what pretended reason, 263. the king's farther answer respecting the militia, 264. votes of both houses upon it, 268. and petition to the king, 269. his answer, 271. reso-

lutions of both houses upon it, 272. they order a fleet to be prepared, *ib.* their declaration to the king, 274. and their reasons for his continuance near the parliament, 285. his answer, 287. instances of the illegal proceedings of the commons against individuals, 282 — 285. the king's message to both houses in his way to York, 290. votes of both houses concerning the militia, 292. their order concerning Hull, 295. they make propositions for adventurers in Ireland, 297. to which the king consents, 298. and passes a bill to that purpose, 299. his declaration from York, 302. petition of the lords and commons to him, March 26, 1642. 314. his answer, 318. its effect on the commons, 325. both houses voted, that whoever accepted the offices from which the earls of Essex and Holland were removed by the king, should be reputed enemies of their country, 333. 612. the commons disposed to have an admiral of the fleet appointed without applying to the king, 334. he interferes, *ib.* the message of both houses to him upon the matter, 335. his answer, *ib.* the earl of Warwick appointed notwithstanding, 337. the bill of tonnage and poundage suffered by parliament to expire, 338. their method of screening the collectors from a *premunire* till a new bill passed, *ib.* object of these measures, 339. impeach G. Binion for drawing up the London petition against the militia bill, 347. the petition from Kent concerning the

INDEX.

militia and the Book of Common Prayer, how received by parliament, 348. petition of both houses to the king to remove the magazine from Hull, 350. his answer, 351. the magazine removed notwithstanding, 356. the king's message to both houses offering to go in person to Ireland, *ib.* their answer, 360. his reply, 365. his message to both houses concerning his refusal to pass the bill for the militia, 375. their exultation at the failure of the king's design of securing Hull, 386. his messages to them concerning Hull, *ibid.* his second message about it, 387. their declaration and votes upon the matter, 388. his answer, 389. they appoint the younger Hotham governor of Hull, in case of any accident happening to his father, 397. the bearers of their answer to the king designed as a committee to remain at York, *ib.* their answer to his messages, 398. his reply, 400. declaration of both houses concerning the militia, 404. which was circulated without being sent to the king, 408. his declaration in answer to it, 409. their hostile preparations, 419, 420. their declaration concerning a reformation of the liturgy, 421. they enforce their ordinance respecting the militia by ordering out the train-bands of London, 427. the members of both houses present at the muster, *ib.* their directions for their ordinance to be executed throughout the country, 428. the three votes of both houses in consequence of the king appointing a guard for the defence of his person,

430. their petition to him to dissolve his guards, 431. his answer, 432. observations on their declaration and vote that the king intended to make war upon them, 437. what line of policy they had followed, 439. they forbid Skippon from repairing to York in obedience to the king's warrant, 446. and counter-order the king's adjournment of the term to York from Westminster, *ib.* declaration of both houses, May 19, 1642. of what had been done amiss throughout the whole of the king's reign, 448. order of the house of lords for the apprehension of the lord keeper Littleton, who had joined the king at York with the great seal, 490. *n.* a fresh remonstrance of both houses, May 26. 504. many members of both houses either absent themselves, or join the king in consequence of it, 538. the king's answer to their declaration of May 19. *ib.* and to their remonstrance of May 26. iii. 1. the nineteen propositions sent to the king by both houses, 38. his answer to them, 48. their order against pawning the crown jewels, 45, 48. their proceedings against such members as had absented themselves, 59, 89. their propositions and orders for bringing in money and plate for maintaining horse, &c. 60. immense sums brought in, 64. explanation why those members of both houses who were favourable to the king absented themselves from parliament, instead of remaining to oppose the measures of the opposite party, 81. the king's commis-

INDEX.

sions of array declared illegal by parliament, 90, 573. their petition to the king in favour of the Yorkshire petition which he had refused, 575. his answer, 578. their declaration to the city upon the king's letter to the lord mayor and aldermen, 93. his reply, 94. the king having revoked the earl of Northumberland's commission as lord high admiral, the earl of Warwick is appointed by parliament in his stead, 113, 588. the votes of both houses for raising an army, 122. the earl of Essex appointed the general, *ib.* their petition to the king at Beverley, 124. his answer, 127. his refusal to return a more gentle reply, 141. their replication to his answer, 150. proofs that if the king were more loved, the parliament was more feared, 145. each party lay aside all thoughts of farther overtures, 151. their unjust proceedings against sir Richard Gurney, lord mayor of London, 152. and against judge Mallet, 153. their preparations for war, 151—155. their declaration to the people as to their objects in raising an army, 155. Portsmouth besieged by their forces, 195. surrendered to them by colonel Goring, 224. the king's message to them for peace, 207. how received, 208. their answer, 211. his second message, 212. their answer, 214. and their declaration to the kingdom, 215. advantageous to the king, 216, 245. his third message in answer to their last reply, 218. reasons of their being backward in taking the field against the

king, 223. their conduct towards such as did not coincide with them, 227. they send out of the country the Capuchin friars belonging to the queen, 237. their instructions to their general, 238. their petition to the king sent to their general to be presented, 240, 627. why never delivered, 262. their vote that all who did not contribute to the charge of the commonwealth, should be disarmed and secured, 243. both houses how affected by the accounts of the battle of Edgehill, 299. apprentices invited by them to take arms, 304. their declaration to the subjects of Scotland, 305. their garrison quits Reading, 318. their petition to the king, 323. his answer, 324. their peaceable intentions set aside by the king's advance to Brentford, 328, 333. his message to them, 331. their ordinance for raising money upon the public faith, 334. their declaration of their general's acceptable service, 335. another petition from them to the king, 336. substance of his answer, *ib.* Marlborough garrisoned by them, 340. taken from them by the king's forces, 341, 342. they declare all whom the king appointed sheriffs, to be delinquents, 352. substance of their declaration to the States General of the United Provinces, 354. the inclinations of foreign states towards them or the king, 358. their new ordinance for raising money, 369. the king's declaration thereupon, 374. their humble desires and propositions to the king, 403. his answer, 411. Chichester

INDEX.

taken by their forces, 416. Cirencester lost, 417. their strength in Cornwall and Devonshire, 418. their forces beaten at Bradock-down, 428. they lose Saltash, 430. their condition in the northern parts, 435. they disown the articles of neutrality agreed on in Yorkshire, 438. they make lord Fairfax their general there, 442. sir Hugh Cholmondeley revolts from them, and delivers up Scarborough castle to the queen, 446. their condition in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Shropshire, 447. and in the counties between Oxford and York, 452. and in Wales, 461. their horse beaten on Hopton-heath, 458. state of Ireland with reference to the differences between the king and parliament, 469—483. negotiations between parliament and him concerning a treaty, 484—487. the majority of members, though outwitted, in favour of peace, 485. their terms for a cessation of arms, 487. different opinions of the privy-council of the king as to his accepting them, 490. parliament pass an ordinance for a weekly assessment on the whole kingdom, 493. the king's proposals of alterations in the articles of cessation, 495. the treaty begins upon the proposals of cessation, but takes no effect, 528. the parliament's advice and desires to the king respecting the next assizes, 535. his answer, 536. their ordinance forbidding them, *ib.* an account and character of the privy-counsellors at this time attending the king, and

of those who stayed with parliament, 538. the sum of the demands and concessions of both sides upon the first article of the treaty, *iv.* 1. the king's message to parliament, 14. who return no answer, 17. Hereford taken for them by sir W. Waller, 29. who is repulsed at Worcester, *ib.* Reading taken by the earl of Essex, 38. the parliament dissatisfied about the capture, 50. some wild plans of the commons not concurred in by the lords, 52. the king's message to parliament, 53. his messenger committed by the commons, 55. and his queen impeached by them of high treason for assisting him in the war, 56. the design of Mr. Waller and others in favour of the king, 57—71, 76, 599. the vow and covenant taken by parliament in consequence, 71, 72, 600. and throughout the city and army, 74. Mr. Hambden's death, 90. the earl of Stamford beaten near Stratton, 100. the parliament send sir W. Waller into the west with an army, 113. his condition after the battle of Lansdown, 124. he is routed at Roundway-down, 134. Bristol surrendered to prince Rupert, 145. the two houses send commissioners into Scotland for relief, 152. why the king could make no farther application to parliament, 155. propositions for peace given by the lords to the commons, 183. reasons for and against them, 184, 185. assented to by the commons, 186. if sent to the king would have produced peace, *ib.* preached against in London, *ib.* common council petition against peace,

INDEX.

187. the propositions are in consequence rejected by the commons, 188. parliament pass an ordinance for raising an army under the earl of Manchester, 190. certain lords go over from the parliament to the king, 192, 193. the earls of Holland, Bedford, and Clare return again to the parliament, 270, 271. certain counties associated to serve the parliament, 196. the parliament's losses in the west, 211—220. they commit the custody of the Tower to the lord mayor Pennington, 227. the earl of Essex relieves Gloucester, 229. takes Cirencester, 231. battle of Newbury, 235. transactions of the committee of both houses in Scotland, 272. a covenant proposed by the Scots between the two kingdoms, and agreed to, 274. taken and subscribed by the two houses and their assembly of divines, 279. copy of it, 280. the parliament prevails with the city to advance one hundred thousand pounds to the Scots for their cooperation, 289. substance of the treaty between the English commissioners and the Scots, 298. the parliament forces garrison Newport Pannel, 315. affairs in the west, *ib.* the parliament's proceedings with regard to the comte d'Harcourt, who had come as ambassador from France, 328. the parliament vote a new broad seal, 339. which is delivered to six commissioners, 341. parliament disowns the cessation of arms agreed to by the king with the rebels of Ireland, 364. its letter to the lords justices

and council on the subject, 366. their answer, 369. the king's message to both houses, 412. their answer, 413. bishop Warburton's observations upon both, *W.* iv. 414, 415. they impose an excise, *iv.* 418. Mr. Pym's death, 436. sir W. Waller has the advantage over lord Hopton at Alresford, 460. association of several counties under the earl of Manchester, 464. who is ordered to march into the north to join the Scots, 465. plan of the operation of their armies against the king, 475. success of the earl of Essex in the west, 497. the fight at Cropredy bridge, 500. the battle of Marston-moor, 509. York delivered to the parliament forces, 513. Balfour with the earl of Essex's horse escapes through the king's army in Cornwall, 545. the earl escapes by sea, 547. Skippon makes condition for his foot, *ib.* the king sends a message of peace to the parliament, which was not noticed, 561. the second battle of Newbury, 582. the divisions in the parliament, v. 12, 88. the independent party against peace, 18. the trial of archbishop Laud, 31. condemned by an ordinance of parliament, 32. parliament agrees to a treaty at Uxbridge, 36. names of their commissioners, *ib.* and of the king's, 37. particulars respecting it, 40. first, of religion, 45. secondly, of the militia, 60, 77. thirdly, of Ireland, 61. the end of the treaty without effect, 80. the self-denying ordinance passes the commons, 90. where it was proposed by Vane and Cromwell, 21. and

I N D E X.

the lords, 131. Fairfax in consequence made the parliament general instead of the earl of Essex, 133. through Cromwell's means, 27. state of the western counties, 135, 187, 303. the battle of Naseby, 183. prince Rupert delivers up Bristol, 244. the king's horse routed at Chester by Pointz, 283. lord Digby routed at Sherborne, 293. lord Hopton routed at Torrington by sir T. Fairfax, 314. the king sends another message for peace which was laid aside by the houses, 338. their answer to his demand of a safe conduct for the duke of Richmond and others, 339. their answer to his desire of a personal treaty at Westminster, 340. their ordinance upon the renewal of his request, 342. Bellevre's fruitless negotiation with the king and parliament, 409. the parliament, upon the Scots' request, send propositions of peace to the king, now with the Scots army, 417. his answer, 418. they demand, and the Scots deliver him up, 419, 421. a committee and servants appointed by them to attend him, 421. they refuse to let any of his own chaplains attend him, 423. divers garrisons surrender to them, *ib.* differences arise between the parliament and army, 428. their declaration in consequence of certain resolutions of the army in opposition to their authority, 433. afterwards rased out of their journal book, 434. they appoint a committee to treat with a committee of the army, *ib.* their intention of seizing Cromwell frustrated by

his returning to the army, 435, 436. the general's account to parliament of the king's being seized at Holmby, 439. their alarm at the approach of the army towards London, 440. the different designs of the parliament and army relating to the king, 450. eleven members of the commons impeached by the army, 455. intimidated by the London apprentices, parliament alters the ordinance of militia, 460. the general's sharp letter to them in consequence, 461. the two speakers, with other members of the two houses, join the army, 461, 463. both houses choose new speakers, and their votes, 462. the general conducts the two speakers and other members to their several houses, 469. the parliament's behaviour on the news of the king's withdrawing, 502. they send to the king to pass four acts, 506. the Scotch commissioners protest against them, 507. the king's answer, *ib.* how received by parliament, 512. who vote that no more addresses should be sent to him, 513. their declaration to the same effect, 515. passed not without opposition, 516. proved odious to the people in general, 518. the present condition of parliament, 553. they send commissioners into Scotland, vi. 15. the revolt of part of the fleet to the king, 23. the parliament prepares a fleet against it, 68. Lambert defeats sir M. Langdale and duke Hamilton, 75. Berwick and Carlisle, which had been seized for the king, delivered up to parliament, 90. Colchester,

INDEX.

where the Kentish royalists had retired, delivered up to sir T. Fairfax, 99. the city petitions for a personal treaty, 104. a committee of parliament treats with them about it, *ib.* the parliament declares for a personal treaty, 105. substance of their message to the king, 106. his answer, 107. the vote of no more addresses repealed, the treaty to be at Newport, 109. whether the parliament commissioners arrive, 152. the first proposition, for revoking all the king's declarations, &c. 159. the king's answer to it, 160. dispute concerning the preamble of it, 162. he consents to it, 165. the second proposition, concerning religion and the church, *ib.* he offers a proposition of his own, which the commissioners refuse to send to parliament, 166. he sends it by messengers of his own, but it is voted unsatisfactory, 167. their ministers dispute with him about the bishops, *ib.* his concessions on this point, 170. the third proposition, concerning the militia, 171. his answer, 173. this voted by the parliament unsatisfactory, *ib.* he consents to it with a preamble, 174. and at last without it, *ib.* the fourth proposition, concerning Ireland, 175. some other particulars he sticks at, 176. but consents at last, 177. the commissioners now send his own propositions to the parliament, *ib.* they require a declaration of him against the marquis of Ormond, 178. his answer, *ib.* they enlarge the treaty fourteen days, *ib.* the commissioners renew their de-

mand about Ormond, 179. his answer, *ib.* they urge further about the church, *ib.* his answer, 180. the parliament's votes upon his former proposition, 181. another prolongation of the treaty four days, 182. the declaration of the army, *ib.* the commissioners' new propositions against delinquents since January 1648, and others, especially the marquis of Ormond, 183. his answer, *ib.* another prolongation for a day, wherein they present two propositions more, 184. one concerning Scotland, *ib.* his answer, 185. the other touching the church, 186. his final answer, *ib.* the sum of his letter to his son concerning this whole treaty, 187. the conclusion of it in his own words, 189. a sharp debate on the commissioners' report of this treaty, 199. sir H. Vane's speech concerning it, *ib.* remonstrance of the army presented to parliament by six officers, 201. vote of the commons upon the king's being removed from Carisbrook castle to Hurst castle, 203. another declaration of the army to them, 204. they vote that the king's answer was a ground for peace, 205. many of the members seized by the soldiers when entering the house, 206. the remaining members vote the contrary to former votes, *ib.* vote that those who were absent at the negative vote should sit no more in the house, 207. vote of no more addresses renewed, *ib.* the protestation of the secluded members voted against by both houses, 208. votes of the com-

I N D E X.

mons about settling a form of government, 209. a committee appointed to prepare a charge of high treason against the king, 210. the charge approved by the commons, 214. rejected by the lords, who adjourned for a week, 215. who find their house locked up on their next day of meeting, *ib.* the ambassador sent from the States of Holland at the request of the prince of Wales to intercede for the king, not admitted to an audience of parliament till after the tragedy was acted, 214. the queen sent a paper to the same effect to parliament, but it was laid aside, 213. the commons constitute a high court of justice for the trial of the king, 216. their proclamation against proclaiming the prince of Wales king, 245. they abolish the house of peers, 246. their vote against the office of kingship, *ib.* they make a new great seal, 247. six of their own judges resign, *ib.* a new oath imposed by them, called the engagement, 251. they appoint a new high court of justice for the trial of duke Hamilton, the earls of Holland and Norwich, lord Capel, and sir J. Owen, 252. their answer to the protest of the Scotch commissioners against the king's trial, 280. whom they imprisoned, but afterwards freed, 281. they appoint Cromwell lord lieutenant of Ireland, 346. they refuse to ratify Monk's treaty with O'Neile, 426. more inclined to make a peace with Spain than France, 441. whether they send Ascham as their agent, *ib.* resolved to send

Cromwell with an army into Scotland, where Charles II. now was, 452. and send ambassadors into Holland to invite the States to a strict union, 594. without effect, 596. they thereupon pass the act of navigation, *ibid.* the Dutch in consequence order their ships not to strike to the English, 598. a war begun on this account, *ib.* the parliament's answer to a message from the States, 600. who send again to them for peace, 606. Guernsey and Jersey reduced, 608. and the foreign plantations subdued, 609. the parliament debate about their dissolution, vii. 4. but decide against it, 5. Cromwell and his council of officers dissolve it, 6. a new one chosen by them, 12. conditions and qualifications of the persons nominated, *ib.* nicknamed Praise-God Barebone's parliament, 13. called together by Cromwell's warrant, *ib.* who also delivers to them an instrument for their authority, 14. they choose Rouse their speaker, and assume the name of a parliament, 15. their actions and consultations, 16. they deliver up their power to Cromwell, 17. the protector calls a parliament after a new method, 35. his speech to them, 36. Lenthal chosen speaker, 37. their actings, 38. the protector speaks to them, 39. admits none into the house but such as subscribed an engagement to him, 40. dissolves them, 41. summons a parliament, 1656. 191. imposes a subscription upon the members before they sat, *ib.* pro-

INDEX.

ceedings of this parliament, 192. a proposition in parliament to make Cromwell king, 194. a committee confer with him upon it, 197. he is confirmed protector by their humble petition and advice, 205. the contents of it, 206. parliament adjourned, 210. reassembled in two houses, lords and commons, 217. the commons readmit certain members that had been excluded by a clause in the petition and advice, 218. their transactions afterward, 219. dissolved, as being disposed to question the protector's authority, 220. a parliament called by Cromwell's successor, his son Richard, 305. the business recommended to them by him, *ib.* differences in the commons about the accounts of money, and about the other house, 306. carried that the other house should be allowed, 307. votes of the parliament upon the address of the council of officers to the protector, 309. the protector dissolves the parliament at the instigation of the officers, 311. whereupon his power is no longer regarded, *ib.* the long parliament restored by the council of officers, 312. some of the old excluded members went into the house with them, but were excluded again, 313. the protector submits to their authority, 315. and Henry Cromwell, who resigns his commission of lieutenant of Ireland, 316. they make Ludlow, and four other commissioners, governors of Ireland, *ib.* Monk from Scotland declares his obedience to them,

318. so does the navy, *ib.* they continued Lockhart ambassador in France, *ib.* they send ambassadors to mediate a peace between the two northern crowns, *ib.* they pass an act of indemnity to the army, 319. they appoint all commissioners military, to be signed by their speaker, *ib.* they banish all cavaliers twenty miles from London, 320. send Lambert against sir G. Booth and sir T. Middleton, 334. grow jealous of Lambert's army, 366. the petition and proposals of that army, 367. with which Haslerig acquaints the house, 368. they vote to have no more general officers, *ib.* they make void all money acts, that there may be nothing to maintain the army, 369. and cashier Lambert and eight other chief officers of the army, *ib.* they make seven commissioners to govern the army, 370. and send for forces to defend them, *ib.* Lambert, with some troops, stops the speaker, and makes him go home, 371. a committee of safety constituted by the army, 374. Monk declares for the parliament, 377. Lawson and the fleet also, 389. and Desborough's regiment, 391. the parliament meets again, 392. they order Lambert's troops to their several quarters, *ib.* commit him to the Tower, *ib.* and confine to their houses such of their members as had concurred with the committee of safety, 393. they desire that part of Monk's forces, now marching towards London, may be sent back to Scotland, 397. and send Scot

INDEX.

and Robinson to meet him, 399. in compliance with Monk's demand, they send the other regiments out of town to receive his, 400. he is conducted to parliament, and complimented by the speaker, 402. his reply, *ib.* the common council of the city refractory to the parliament, 404. Monk sent by them to reduce it to obedience, 403. the parliament resolve to join others in commission with Monk, 406. his expostulatory letter to them, 409. he delivers his mind to them, 412. the secluded members go to the house, 418. their transactions, 418, 432. they dissolve themselves, and appoint a new council of state, 419. attempts of the rump parliament to prevent a new parliament, 427. the parliament's and council of state's prudent actions, 432. the parliament meet, 477. and choose sir Harbottle Grimstone speaker, *ib.* the king's letter to the commons, 437. and to the lords, 465. which, with his declaration, they receive with great joy, 479. a committee appointed to prepare an answer, *ib.* the answer, 481. a committee of both houses wait on the king at the Hague, to invite him to return to the throne, 499. bishop Warburton's view of the objects of the king and parliament, *W.* iv. 327. his explanation of the factions among the parliament commanders before the passing of the self-denying ordinance, and their union afterwards, iv. 524. (see House of Lords and House of Commons.)

Parliament at Oxford summoned by Charles I. iv. 353. both houses meet, 397. substance of the king's speech to them, 398. they send a letter to the earl of Essex, 400. his answer directed to the earl of Forth, 403. means agreed on by both houses to raise money, 416. they follow the example of the parliament at Westminster in imposing an excise, 418. the parliament prorogued, 468.

Parliament of Scotland summoned by the covenanters, iv. 293. the parliament met, and their deliberations, vi. 10. their letter to the prince of Wales, 83. their committee order Monroe to disband, 93. the parliament being summoned, condemn duke Hamilton's engagement, 94. the behaviour of the marquis of Mountrose before them, 417. a parliament summoned in Charles II.'s name, 487. it meets at Stirling, and reconciles the lords, *ib.*

Parry, sir George, one of the commissioners for the associated county of Devon, v. 152.

Parsons, sir William, a lord justice in Ireland, viii. 167. notice of him, ii. 585. iii. 482. removed from that trust, iii. 482.

Party, the violent, carry all before them, iv. 193.

Paterculus, Velleius, vii. 168, *n.*

Paulet, (see Pawlet.)

Paw, — sent by the States of Holland ambassador to the English parliament to intercede for Charles I. vi. 212, 214.

Pawlet, lord Edward, iv. 568.

Pawlet, sir John, iv. 448.

INDEX.

Pawlet, John lord, iv. 574. one of the king's commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, i. 274. one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. accompanied the marquis of Hertford into the west, 120, 181, 608, 200. and thence into Glamorganshire, 226. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 633.

Peace between England and France and Spain, i. 117. a treaty of pacification concluded between England and Scotland, 217. the ill consequences of it, 220. the parliament's propositions for peace, 1643. iii. 403. peace concluded with the confederate catholics in Ireland, 1648. viii. 77. peace made by Cromwell with the Dutch, 1654. vii. 25. peace between France and Spain, some particulars respecting, 1650. 341. (see Treaty.)

Peard, — i. 235, 236, 513.

Peers in council at York set down in writing the affronts and violence offered to them at London, iii. 67. their declaration that the king had no intentions of war, 71, 571. (see Lords.)

Peirce, (see Percy.)

Pembroke, William Herbert, third earl of, the most beloved and esteemed of any man of the age, i. 100. married one of the heiresses of the earl of Shrewsbury, 101. his good qualities, 101—104. his vices, 102. unfortunate in his marriage, *ib.* made lord chamberlain, and afterwards lord steward of the king's house, 103. his

death, *ib.* anecdote respecting its being foretold, *ib.* succeeded in his title by his brother, the earl of Montgomery, 104. his interest great enough to command many boroughs, 520.

Pembroke, Philip Herbert, fourth earl of, previously earl of Montgomery, i. 281, 479. ii. 289, 332. iii. 156, 463, 559. *n. W.* ii. 444. v. 73. made lord chamberlain, i. 103. succeeded his brother as earl of Pembroke, 104. one of king James's favourites, *ib.* superseded by Carr, earl of Somerset, 105. his character, 105. iii. 553. *W.* i. 105. averse from the war with Scotland, i. 216. one of the commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, 274. one of the king's council at York, 279. his quarrel with lord Mowbray in the house of lords, 460. iii. 556. *n.* both sent to the Tower, *ib.* deprived by the king of his staff of lord chamberlain, *ibid.* supported the oppressions in the stannery courts, i. 503. one of those sent by parliament with a petition to the king, iii. 321, 323. and with propositions of peace, 402. fear induced him to side with the parliament, 555. gave up himself into the hands of lord Say, *ib.* made governor of the Isle of Wight, 557, 607. why the chancellor of the exchequer always entertained a great kindness for him, 557. *n.* one of the few peers who attended parliament, iv. 403, 629. one of the parliament commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 36, 40, 59. tries to persuade the chancellor of the exchequer to consent to all the parliament demanded, 72. to-

INDEX.

- tally without credit or interest in the parliament or country, 73. his conduct as chancellor of the university of Oxford, when the university was visited, 481.
- Pembroke, Philip Herbert, fifth earl of, and second earl of Montgomery, vii. 151, 152, 153, 155.
- Pen, — a fleet sent out under him, with a land army under Venables, vii. 172. their orders, 176. they go to Barbadoes, 175. thence to Hispaniola, 176. unsuccessful there, 177. successful in a descent upon Jamaica, 178. they return to England, *ib.* are committed by Cromwell to the Tower, 179.
- Penal laws, a repeal of, expected by foreign catholics to be a consequence of Charles I.'s proposed marriage with the infanta of Spain, i. 27. rigidly executed by lord treasurer Weston, 90.
- Pendennis castle, bravely defended against the parliament forces, v. 424. surrendered on honourable terms, *ib.*
- Penkaruan, Edward, signed the anabaptists' address to Charles II. vii. 266.
- Pennington, sir John, ii. 277, 334, 335, 336. iii. 98, *n.* 103, 115, 168. the king intends to appoint him admiral in the room of the earl of Northumberland, iii. 107. his objections to being appointed, 108. alters his mind, and offers to accept the appointment, 118. how far concerned in the king's losing the navy, 111, 112, 113, 116, 587, 588, 589.
- Pennington, Isaac, alderman, i. 356. iii. 616, 618, 371, 380, 382, 391. iv. 187. in the highest confidence with the factious party, i. 375. one of the committee of the house of commons appointed to sit during the recess, ii. 10. made lord mayor in the room of sir R. Gourney, deposed by the lords, 153. chosen lord mayor a second time, 333. the custody of the Tower committed to him by parliament, iv. 227.
- Pennyman, sir William, iii. 251, *n.* 437. notice of him, iv. 550. was governor of Oxford at the time of his death, *ib.*
- Penruddock, — concerned in the rising at Salisbury for Charles II. vii. 139, 140. beheaded in consequence at Exeter, 144.
- Percy, (Peirce,) Henry, afterwards lord, vi. 63, 136. vii. 89, 92, *W.* i. 428, 439, 440, 466. how far concerned in the correspondence between the court and army, i. 469, 471, 473, 474, 535. ii. 458, 479, 487. escaped beyond sea, 474, 589. notice of his creation as a peer, upon the queen's intercession, iv. 530, *n.* 531. v. 100, *n.* one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 633. removed from the office of general of the ordnance, iv. 530, *n.* 531.
- Peterborough, Henry Mordaunt, second earl of, prepares to rise with the duke of Bucks in favour of Charles II. vi. 6.
- Peterborough, bishop of, (see J. Towers.)
- Peters, Hugh, v. 119, *n.* 120, 121.
- Petition of right, its origin, i. 10. not prejudicial to the crown, *ib.* the Scots petition the king, upon it a treaty ap-

INDEX.

pointed at Rippon, 274. a petition of some citizens against the government of the church by bishops, 356. great dissimulation used in procuring petitions, 357. the petition intended to be subscribed by the officers of the army, 430. a petition presented to the king together with the remonstrance, ii. 63. the king's answer to the petition, 65. a petition published in the name of the apprentices against papists and prelates, 83. the commons petition the king for a guard, 85. his answer, *ib.* petition and protestation of certain bishops on their constrained absence from the house of lords, 114. the city petitions the king, 146. his answer, 148. the Buckinghamshire petition to the commons, 166. to the lords, 168. and to the king, 169. both houses petition the king about the accused members, 192. the commons petition him to remove sir J. Byron from the lieutenancy of the Tower, and to put all the other forts and the militia into the hands of confiding men, 198. petitions from several counties concerning the militia, 206. 207. petition of the poor in and about the city to the commons, 222. both houses petition the king touching the Tower, forts, and militia, &c. 228. his answer, 234. a petition of both houses to him at Theobalds, 269. his answer, 271. to him at York, 314. his answer, 318. to remove the magazine from Hull, 350. his answer, 351. to dissolve his guards, 431. his answer, 432. to him at Beverley, iii.

124. his answer, 127. their petition to him, sent to their general to be presented, but never delivered, 240. to him at Colebrook, 323. his answer, 324. to him at Reading, 336. his answer, *ib.* from the city to him, 386. his answer, 390. from the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland to him, 499. his answer, 509. from the common council of London against peace, iv. 187. a tumultuous petition of apprentices and others to parliament concerning the militia, v. 460. the city petitions for a personal treaty with the king, vi. 104. a petition intended of the Scottish presbyterians by Balcarris and Frazier, that the chancellor of the exchequer might be removed, vii. 59. and of the Roman catholics also against him, 69. Cromwell confirmed protector by the humble petition and advice, 205. the contents of it, 206. the petition and proposals of Lambert's army, 367. parliament receive a petition by Barebone from the fanatics, 406.

Pezenas, in Languedoc, the property of the prince of Conti, vii. 317.

Pheasant, sergeant, iii. 407.

Philip II. king of Spain, vi. 372, *n.*

Philip IV. (see king of Spain.)

Philips, colonel Robert, assisted Charles II. in his escape after his defeat at Worcester, vi. 539—541.

Phillips, father, the queen's confessor, ii. 589. notice of his death and character, vi. 481.

Pierce, William, (see bishop of Bath and Wells.)

INDEX.

- Pierrepoint, — one of the parliament commissioners to treat with Charles I. at Oxford, iii. 485, 528. and at Uxbridge, v. 36. notice of him, 76. was in favour of the self-denying ordinance, 90.
- Piggott, major, viii. 31.
- Pignoranda, conde of, vi. 383. he and Fuensaldagna governed all the councils at Brussels, vi. 327. notice of him, 327, 386. governed by Le Brune, 328. waited on Charles II. whilst at Brussels, 331. one of the Spanish council of state, 387.
- Pimentel, don Antonio, vii. 341.
- Pinkney, — quarter master general, v. 275.
- Pius V. pope, published a bull against the *toros* in Spain, vi. 372, *n*.
- Plague in London, 1641. ii. 5.
- Plantations, the foreign, subdued to the parliament, vi. 609.
- Plate, brought in for the use of parliament, iii. 64.
- Playford, John, printer, vii. 412, *n*.
- Plessy Praslin, marshal of, vi. 358.
- Plot, John, iii. 417.
- Plunket, — notice of, vi. 614.
- Plunket, sir Nicholas, viii. 211.
- Plutarch, iii. 232.
- Plymouth, prince Maurice's unsuccessful attempt against, iv. 316—323. sir R. Greenvil left to block it up, 562.
- Pointz, — routs the king's horse at Chester, v. 282, 283. his movements, 295, 296, 301.
- Poland, John Casimir, king of, vi. 375, *n*.
- Poland, Anne Catherine Constance, daughter of Sigismond, king of, married the duke of Newburgh, vii. 118.
- Pollard, — iii. 160, 161, 593. vii. 323. *W*. i. 428. how far concerned in the correspondence between the court and army, i. 470, 471. ii. 4, 458. imprisoned in consequence, 535.
- Pollard, sir Hugh, v. 194. vii. 157, 383. accompanied the marquis of Hertford into the west, iii. 120. had a friendship with general Monk, vii. 383.
- Pontefract castle, an account of the taking of, for the king, vi. 110. part of the garrison's attempt upon Rainsborough, 119. the castle delivered up to Lambert, 125.
- Pope, Alexander VII. vii. 297, 355. notice of the duke of Newburgh's discourse with Charles II. concerning making some application to the pope for assistance, vii. 124. the effect of the application, 129.
- Popham, Alexander, active in Somersetshire for the parliament, iii. 197, 201. iv. 115, 605.
- Popham, colonel Edward, a principal officer in the parliament's fleet, v. 68. of a passionate and virulent temper, *ib*. one of the independent party, *ib*.
- Porridge, captain, v. 262.
- Porter, — v. 332, *n*.
- Porter, Endymion, ii. 187. selected to attend prince Charles in his journey to Spain, i. 30. what situations he had filled, *ib*. one of those excepted against by parliament from making peace with them on any terms, iii. 240.
- Porter, lieutenant general, v. 193, 260, 263. his charge against lord Goring, v. 158, *n*. lord G.'s against him, 159, *n*. 242. joins the parliament, 261.

INDEX.

- Portland surrendered to the king's forces, iv. 213.
- Portland, first earl of, (see Richard Weston.)
- Portland, Jerome Westop, second earl of, iv. 68. notice of his wife, i. 95. removed by parliament from the government of the Isle of Wight, ii. 424. iii. 557. and imprisoned, ii. 424. and why, iii. 607. Mr. Waller his intimate friend, iv. 61. the parliament unable to implicate him in Mr. Waller's and Mr. Tomkins's design, 77. he is therefore enlarged, *ib.* joins the king at Oxford, 192, 205. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, 632.
- Portland, (Frances Stuart,) countess of, i. 95.
- Portmans, the, iv. 110.
- Portsmouth, under colonel Goring, declares for the king, iii. 172. besieged by the parliament's forces, 195. surrendered to them, 224. the soldiers before Portsmouth revolt to the parliament against Lambert, vii. 388.
- Portugal, i. 438, 439. how disposed towards Charles II. vi. 394. compelled by Cromwell to make peace, vii. 26. what notice taken of Portugal in the peace between France and Spain, 343, 349, 351, 352, 354. the Portuguese ambassador's brother, don Pantaleon Sa, beheaded by Cromwell for murder, vii. 30.
- Portugal, king of, duke of Braganza, vii. 200.
- Portugal, prince of, Theodosius, vi. 394.
- Portugal, queen of, Louisa de Guzman, vi. 394.
- Potter, Christopher, dean of Worcester, one of the king's commissioners in ecclesiastical matters to treat at Uxbridge, v. 51.
- Poundage, (see Tonnage.)
- Powell, colonel, commanded in South Wales for the parliament, vi. 41. disposed, through discontent, to support Charles II. 42. taken prisoner by Cromwell in Pembroke castle, 59.
- Poyer, colonel, raised himself from a low trade, vi. 42. intrusted by parliament with the government of the town and castle of Pembroke, *ib.* disposed, through discontent, to support Charles II. 41, 42. taken prisoner by Cromwell in Pembroke castle, 59.
- Preaching, great license in, i. 348.
- Prerogative, royal, when it should, and when it should not be exercised to screen ministers, i. 12.
- Presbyterian clergy preach up rebellion, iii. 230. presbyterian ministers dispute with Charles I. about the bishops, vi. 167. divers presbyterian divines went to Charles II. at the Hague, vii. 501. their public audience, *ib.* their private discourses with him, 502. the difference between the presbyterian and independent party according to bishop Warburton, *W.* v. 354. and how far each party contributed to the overturning of the constitution, vi. 207.
- Pressing, the usual method of recruiting the army, i. 72. not submitted to without opposition, *ib.* right of, usurped by the house of commons, ii. 69

I N D E X.

- Preston, sir M. Langdale, is beaten and taken, and duke Hamilton routed near there, vi. 75, 76.
- Preston, sir James, viii. 86.
- Preston, general, John, vi. 342, 424, 548. viii. 66, 96. his character, vi. 145. defeated by the marquis of Ormond in the battle of Rosse, viii. 17. joined the nuncio, 31. marches with him towards Dublin, 37. his and O'Neile's haughty propositions to the lord lieutenant, 38. enters into a treaty with the marquis of Clanrickard to join the lord lieutenant, 42. he and his officers enter into an engagement, 45. appointed sergeant-major-general under the marquis of Clanrickard, 46. defection of his officers, 47.
- Pretty, captain, iii. 202.
- Price, Herbert, vii. 154, 155.
- Prideaux, — vi. 254, *n.* one of the six commissioners to whom parliament intrusted their broad seal, iv. 340. one of the parliament commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 36. he, Vane, and Saint-John, were but spies on the rest, 69.
- Prideaux, John, made bishop of Worcester, ii. 25.
- Prince Elector, (see Elector.)
- Prince of Wales, (see Charles I. and II.)
- Printing, great license in, i. 348.
- Privilege, breach of, the house of peers recommending the commons to begin with a supply, voted such by the commons, i. 237. the king's interference whilst the bill concerning pressing was pending, voted such, ii. 71. as also his going to the commons to demand the five members accused of treason, 156.
- Privy-council, its powers enlarged, i. 121. lord keeper Finch's declaration in its favour, 131. prejudicial to it, *ib.* requisite principles of a member of the council, 342, 6. the privy-council and some of the bishops advise the king to pass the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford, i. 450.
- Privy counsellors, divers new, of the popular party, sworn, i. 341. prejudicially to the king, 342. an account and character of the privy-counsellors attending the king 1643. and of those who stayed with parliament, iii. 538.
- Proclamation, the ill effects of that set forth upon the dissolution of the second parliament of Charles I. i. 118. Charles I.'s proclamation from Beverley, iii. 120. his proclamation for assembling the parliament at Oxford, iv. 353. proclamation of parliament against proclaiming Charles Stuart king, vi. 245. Cromwell proclaimed protector, vii. 19. Charles II. proclaimed, 488.
- Progers, Henry, v. 363. vi. 444.
- Projects of all kinds, i. 119. of knighthood, *ib.* of reviving forest laws, 120. of ship-money, *ib.*
- Proposal in the house of commons for a committee to consider of the present state and power of the militia, ii. 76. the king's proposals of alterations in the parliament's articles of cessation, iii. 495. the petition and proposals of Lambert's army, vii. 367. the lord lieutenant of Ireland's proposals to the mayor of Limerick, viii. 142.
- Proposition, the king's, to the house of commons to give up

INDEX.

ship-money for twelve subsidies, i. 238. a proposition made in the commons for borrowing money in the city, 372. defeated by the factious party, 375. the king's proposition and message to both houses, ii. 191. propositions of the commons for adventurers in Ireland, 297. the nineteen propositions sent to the king by both houses, iii. 38. substance of his answer, 48. propositions and orders of both houses for bringing in money, and plate for maintaining horse, &c. 59. the humble desires and propositions of parliament to the king, 403. the king puts the two houses in mind of his proposition for a cessation of arms, 484. propositions for peace given by the lords to the commons in a conference, iv. 183. rejected by the commons in consequence of a petition from the common council of London against peace, 188. propositions from Ireland rejected by the king, v. 5. lord Goring makes propositions to the prince of Wales, 231. the parliament, upon the Scots' request, send propositions of peace to the king at Newcastle, 417. the Scots enforce them by their chancellor, 418. the king's answer, 419. the propositions in the personal treaty with the king at Newport, vi. 159—187. propositions from England to Charles II. for an insurrection in his favour, vii. 132. a proposition in parliament for Cromwell to be king, 194. the propositions annexed to the anabaptists' address to Charles II. 267. haughty propositions to the lord lieutenant

of Ireland from the nuncio's generals, viii. 38.

Protest, debate in the commons against the right of entering a protest against any measure of that house, ii. 45, 61, n. origin of the custom of protesting in the house of lords, ii. 212. abuse of this custom, 1642. 213.

Protestants of Germany and France received into England in the time of Edward VI. iii. 363. encouraged by queen Elizabeth, *ib.* discountenanced in the time of Charles I. 364.

Protestation taken by parliament in consequence of the correspondences discovered between the court and army, i. 441. explanation of it by order of the commons, 444. the petition and protestation of certain bishops against their constrained absence from the house of lords, ii. 114. the bishops that subscribed it accused of high treason by the commons, 118. protestation of certain peers in a matter relative to the duke of Richmond, 216. taken notice of in the commons, *ib.* the king's speech and protestation at the head of his forces, iii. 220. a protestation taken by the two parties in Devon and Cornwall, previous to a treaty, 434. the commissioners of Scotland enter a protestation against the four acts sent by parliament to the king, v. 507. the protestation of the secluded members of the commons, vi. 208. protestation of the Roman catholic bishops in Ireland concerning their act of excommunication, viii. 196.

Provisors of benefices, statute of, a clause from the preamble, ii. 514.

INDEX.

Fryn, William, W. iv. 127. an opponent of episcopacy, i. 166. his character, 349. punished for libelling, 352, 530. his entry into London on his return from exile, 349, 353, 531. he and Mr. Walker prosecuted colonel Fiennes for the surrender of Bristol, iv. 344. one of the parliament commissioners to reform the discipline and doctrine of the university of Oxford, v. 481.

Fulston, John, iii. 407.

Purcell, major-general, viii. 96.

Pye, sir Robert, commanded the king's garrison in Leicester, v. 175.

Pym, John, i. 253, 298, n. ii. 578, 24, 45, 592, 75, n. 87, 238, 354, 390. iii. 379. iv. 66, 191. opens the debate in the parliament of April 1640. concerning grievances, i. 234. and again in the new parliament in November, 299. part of his speech, *ib.* one of those sent by parliament with their petition to the king at York, 258. his part in the proceedings against the earl of Strafford, 300, 304, 305, 382, 397, 399, 521. notice of his character, 323. the younger Vane sought his friendship, 328. one of the leading men in the house of commons, 347, n. a design of making him chancellor of the exchequer, 370, 445, 534. ii. 93. supported the bill for tonnage and poundage, i. 371. not hostile to the church, 410. the ill use he made of the discovery of the correspondence between the court and the army, 438, 439, 440, 468, 471, 474. said by some to have been bribed to hinder Irish volunteers from enlisting in the service of

Spain, 493. chairman of the committee of the commons that sat during the recess, ii. 11, 14. of what advantage it might have been to have gained him and others over, 60. articles of treason charged against him and others by order of the king, ii. 124, 604. farther particulars relative to this charge, 125, 130, 147, 156, 162, 164, 184, 192, 606, 229, 258, 276, 280, 306, 316, 342, 449, 459, 477, 548. iii. 44, 156, 618. his speech on delivering certain petitions respecting the militia to the house of lords, ii. 207. thanked for it by the commons, who order it to be printed, 211. the king demands reparation for an expression in it, 238. the answer of the commons, 239. the king's reply, 240. farther communications respecting it, 287, 315, 320. part of his speech on the king's answer to the petition of the city of London, iii. 397. his death, iv. 436. his character and conduct, *ib.* W. iv. 439.

Pyne, John, v. 68.

Q.

Quartermaine, Dr. the king's physician, vii. 242.

Queen of England, (see Henrietta.)

Queen regent of France, (see France.)

R.

Rabutin, Bussy, W. vii. 95.

Radnor, earl of, (see lord Roberts.)

Ragland-castle bravely defended against Fairfax by the marquis of Worcester, v. 424. surrendered on honourable conditions, *ib.*

Rainsborough, colonel, the army at Hounslow-heath send him

INDEX.

- to take possession of the city, v. 466. part of the fleet revolt from him to the king, vi. 23. from what causes, 24. he and some officers put on shore by the seamen, 31. sent by Cromwell against Pontefract castle, 119. an attempt by part of the garrison to carry him off, 119, 121. is killed, 122.
- Ramsey**,——commanded a troop of the parliament horse at the battle of Edge-hill, iii. 274. made governor of Marlborough, 340. taken prisoner in the capture of the town by lieutenant general Wilmot, 342.
- Ramsey, David**, i. 269.
- Ranucini, J. B.** archbishop of Firmo, (see Nuncio.)
- Rantzaw, marshal**, governor of Dunkirk, vi. 77.
- Raphoe**, titular bishop of, viii. 155, 228.
- Ratcliff, sir George**, vi. 477. *W.* i. 537. accused of high treason in order that he might not be able to give evidence in favour of the earl of Strafford at his trial, i. 377. had a principal part in the state affairs in Ireland, viii. 147. had great interest with the duke of York, vi. 474. he and sir E. Herbert recommend to the duke the pattern of the duke of Lorraine, *ib.* they propose a match for him with the duke of Lorraine's bastard daughter, 478. the queen complains of him and sir E. Herbert, 558.
- Rathmines, battle of**, vii. 93, 97.
- Raynaldo, Otterico**, the name under which the continuation of cardinal Baronius's history was published, viii. 72.
- Reynolds, Robert**, iv. 391, 392. he and Mr. Goodwyn sent by parliament as a committee into Ireland, *ib.* 482. commanded the English in the service of France, vii. 212. was cast away, coming out of Flanders, 220. (see Reynolds.)
- Reading**, quitted by the parliament forces, and taken possession of by the king, *ib.* 318. besieged by the earl of Essex, iv. 22. the king attempts in vain to relieve it, 36. articles upon which it surrendered, 38. the breach of them gave rise to similar breaches in future by both parties, 39. possessed again by the king's forces, iv. 237. quitted by them, 474.
- Reeve, or Reeves, justice**, iii. 467. iv. 342. notice of, iii. 145.
- Remonstrance against the king** carried in the commons by nine voices, *ib.* 40—43, 61, *n.* ordered to be printed, 49. substance of it, *ib.* the king's answer, 140. the committee at Grocers' hall design a new remonstrance, 185. the matter they prepared for it, *ib.* the declaration or remonstrance of the lords and commons, May 19, 1642. 448. their remonstrance, May 26, 504. what effect it had, 537. the king's answer to that of May 19, 538. and to that of May 26. *ib.* 1. the large remonstrance of the army brought to the commons by six officers, vi. 261.
- Resolution of parliament upon the king's answer to their petition concerning the militia**, ii. 172. resolutions taken at Oxford, v. 170. the first resolutions of the council of officers appointed by the army, 431.
- Retz, cardinal de**, friendly disposed towards Charles II. vii. 62. his discourse with him, 63. sent to the bastile in conse-

I N D E X.

- quence, 64. his admiration of the marquis of Mountrose's person, *W.* vi. 284.
- Reynold, colonel, viii. 94.
- Reynolds, Richard, signed the anabaptists' address to Charles II. vii. 266. one of the presbyterian divines who had a public and private audience of the king at the Hague, 501. (see Reynolds.)
- Rhé, isle of, unsuccessful attempt against, i. 6, 47.
- Rhodes, sir Edward, iii. 438, 439.
- Rich, colonel, vi. 97. vii. 204.
- Rich, lord, i. 110. one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72. 571. and the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632.
- Rich, Robert, grandson of the earl of Warwick, married Frances Cromwell, vii. 211. his death, 291.
- Richard II. i. 395. ii. 431, 435. vi. 216.
- Richard III. ii. 536.
- Richaute, — iv. 534, 535.
- Richelieu, cardinal, i. 49. encourages the disaffected in Scotland against Charles I. i. 223. iii. 358. v. 350. notice of his death, iv. 325. v. 347. reasons of his hatred against the English, v. 347. kept the queen regent and the queen of England out of France, *ib.* his estimate of the character of both correct, in the opinion of bishop Warburton, *W.* v. 347. why he raised cardinal Mazarine, v. 348.
- Richmond, James Stewart, third duke of, and fourth duke of Lenox, i. 153. ii. 614. v. 41, 47, 225, 339. vi. 108. high steward and high admiral of Scotland by descent, i. 140. the only counsellor about the king in Scotland, i. 215. ii. 35. notice of his character and conduct, i. 215, 280, 371. and of his behaviour towards the opposite party, 481. compelled to give up the wardenship of the cinque ports, 482. certain expressions of his, the subject of debate in both houses of parliament, ii. 214—220. his character defended, 219. farther notice of his character, iii. 539. one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 71, 571. one of those excepted against by parliament from making peace with them on any terms, 239. made lord steward of the king's household, 556. one of the peers who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632. one of the council for the prince of Wales, v. 11. he and the earl of Southampton sent to the parliament with a message for a treaty, 26, 28. one of the king's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, 37. his part, 48. excused himself from leaving the king to attend the prince, 116. attended the king's funeral, vi. 241. died before the restoration of Charles II. 244.
- Richmond, (Mary Villiers) duchess of, iii. 539.
- Rippon, the English and Scotch commissioners appointed to meet there, to treat of peace, i. 274.
- Rivers, John Savage, second earl of, one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii.

I N D E X.

- 72, 571. one of those excepted against by parliament from making peace with them on any terms, 239. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632.
- Rivers, countess of, her house plundered by the rabble, because she was a papist, iii. 229.
- Roberts, John lord, afterwards earl of Radnor, iv. 540, 562. he and the earl of Southampton refuse to take the protestation imposed by the commons in consequence of the discovery of the correspondence between the court and the army, i. 442, 476. present on the parliament side at the battle of Edge-hill, iii. 272. one of the few lords who attended parliament, 1643. iv. 403, 630. notice of him, 524. insists that the earl of Essex's army should proceed into Cornwall, *ib.* bishop Warburton's observation thereupon, *W. in loc.* he escapes thence with the earl by sea to Plymouth, iv. 547. his estate in Cornwall granted by the king to sir R. Greenvil, v. 214, 311.
- Robinson, — sent with Scot by parliament to meet Monk, marching towards London, vii. 399.
- Robinson, colonel, v. 166. governor of Launceston, v. 312.
- Roche, colonel David, viii. 137.
- Rochelle, i. 80. iii. 363. besieged by cardinal Richelieu, i. 49. the duke of Buckingham assassinated when going to its relief, *ib.* notice of its loss, ii. 50.
- Rochester, earl of, (see lord Wilmot.)
- Rochford, John Carey, viscount, afterwards earl of Dover, present on the parliament side at the battle of Edge-hill, iii. 272. one of the few lords who attended parliament, 1643. iv. 403, 630.
- Rogers, — notice of his death, iv. 108. his character, *ib.*
- Rogers, — v. 202, n.
- Roles, — chief justice, turned out of his office by Cromwell for refusing to act as judge against those who were concerned in the rising at Salisbury, vii. 144.
- Rolls, master of, has the filling up of the six clerks' places, i. 92.
- Rolls, sergeant, iii. 407.
- Rolph, captain, his rise and character, vi. 194. accused of a design on the king's life, 192, n. 195, 196, 197. how tried and acquitted, 198.
- Romanists, their high demands in Ireland, viii. 20. Charles I.'s good advice to their commissioners, 22.
- Roscommon, James Dillon, first earl of, ii. 585. iv. 393.
- Roscorroth, — one of the commissioners for the associated county of Cornwall, v. 152.
- Rosewell, (see Williamson.)
- Rospigliosi, Julio, afterwards pope Clement IX. notice of, as the pope's nuncio at Madrid, vi. 375, n. 448.
- Rosse, battle of, viii. 17.
- Rossiter, colonel, v. 295, 301, 441.
- Rotherham, Thomas, iv. 393.
- Roths, John Leslie, sixth earl of, i. 143, 348, n. 491. one of the Scotch commissioners sent to London to treat of peace, i. 331. his character, 332. ii. 580. and death, ii. 581.
- Roundheads, use of the term, ii. 93. its meaning, *W. in loc.*

INDEX.

Roundway-down, battle of, where-
in sir W. Waller is routed, iv.
134, 608.

Rouse, Francis, chosen speaker of
the house of commons, 1653.
vii. 15.

Rouswell, colonel, bravely but
unsuccessfully defended Litch-
field cathedral against prince
Rupert, iv. 34.

Rowe, sir Thomas, Charles I.'s
ambassador extraordinary to
the emperor, iii. 359.

Rozetti, count, public agent from
Rome at London, i. 263, 526.
ii. 53, 275, 304, 457.

Rupert, prince, iii. 233, 234,
252, and *n.* 253, 625, 626,
266, 268, 349. iv. 37, 57, 140,
176, 181, 230, 430, *n.* 462,
466, 475, *n.* 481, 520, 527, *n.*
532, 574, 575, 587, 590, 595.
v. 83, 99, 146, 151, 158, *n.*
159, 169, 188, 194, and *n.*
197, 223, 249, 250, 251, 254,
287, 288, 298. vi. 79, 84, 127,
151. vii. 66, 67, 77. *W.* iii.
278. iv. 138, 162, 520. v. 2,
174, 194, 220, 251. vi. 130.
vii. 217. made general of the
king's horse at the opening of
the civil war, iii. 105, 610. his
arrival, 188, *n.* disapproved of
the king's first message to par-
liament for a treaty, 217. suc-
cessful in a rencounter near
Worcester, 235, 615. his name
in consequence becomes terri-
ble to the enemy, 236. his
independent commission the
cause of faction in the king's
army, 270. too much listened
to by the king, *ib.* particulars
of the battle of Edge-hill as
far as he was concerned, 272,
274, 630, 631, 278, 634, 280.
the earl of Lindsey offended at
his being exempted from his
command, 285, *n.* 287. con-

tracted a prejudice against Wil-
mot, 320, *n.* iv. 259. frightens
the parliament garrison away
from Reading, iii. 320, *n.* urges
the king to advance towards
London, 326. takes Cirencester,
416, 417. and Hereford,
iv. 30. and Litchfield, 35. and
returns to the king, *ib.* success-
ful in a skirmish at Charlgrave
field, where Mr. Hambden was
mortally wounded, 83. jea-
lousies between him and the
marquis of Hertford, 602, 162.
takes Bristol, 141—145, 611.
reluctantly assents to sir Ralph
Hopton's being appointed its
governor, 616. the queen jea-
lous of his lessening her inter-
est with the king, 201. parti-
culars of his part in the battle
of Newbury, 232, 233, 236,
237. censurable for letting the
earl of Essex escape him in
Gloucestershire, 259. notice of
his character, 301. takes Bed-
ford, 314. relieves Newark,
443. one of those chiefly con-
sulted by the king on military
affairs, 471. successful at sever-
al places in the north, 508.
defeated at Marston-meot,
509, 510. quits the north in
consequence, 510, 512. ob-
servations on his conduct, 513.
made general of the king's ar-
my, 528, 591. was not gene-
rally liked, v. 1. withdraws his
favour from O'Neale, 301. his
answer (penned by the chan-
cellor of the exchequer) to the
earl of Essex's expostulatory
letter, 123, and *n.* disposes the
king to march northwards, 170.
others advising him to go into
the west, 171. why he for-
warded lord Goring's views,
though no friend to him, 171,
172. present at the taking of

INDEX.

Leicester, 175. his part in the battle of Naseby, 181—185, 186. retires to Bristol, 187, 220, 222. the king's letter to him against treating of peace, 225. he delivers up Bristol, 244. the king's letter to him upon this surrender, 252. his commissions revoked by the king in consequence, 253. through lord Digby's influence, 287. a reconciliation between him and Goring, 265, 266. visits the king at Newark to explain his conduct at Bristol, 295. absolved upon a hearing from disloyalty or treason, but not from indiscretion, 296. the king reconciled to him, 389. attends the prince of Wales to the fleet at Helvoetsluys, vi. 33. had a rooted prejudice against lord Colepepper, 63, 127. much influenced by sir E. Herbert, 63. heads the faction in causing the prince of Wales to undervalue lord Hopton, 82. well inclined to the chancellor of the exchequer, 127, 151, *n.* his quarrel with lord Colepepper, 128, 129. takes the command of the prince of Wales's fleet, 140, 148, 149. goes with it to Ireland, 170. and then to the coast of Spain, 390. enters the river of Lisbon, 391. escapes out again away from the parliament's fleet, 395. arrives with his fleet at Nantes, vii. 65. invited by Charles II. to Paris, 66. gives an ill account of his fleet, 68, 80. leaves the king, and goes into Germany, 89. resigns his place of master of the horse, 90. bishop Warburton says, that he most contributed to the ill success of the king's arms, *W.* iii. 327. and that he deserved to be

hanged for his conduct in Yorkshire, iv. 511. the bishop's observations on his military conduct, iv. 230, 299, 346, 444, 512, 513. v. 185. his censure of the king's appointing the prince general of the army, iv. 528.

Russel, sir William, treasurer of the navy, i. 328. v. 22.

Russel, Diana, wife of Francis lord Newport, iii. 257, *n.*

Ruthen, — the parliament governor of Plymouth, iii. 426. beaten by sir Ralph Hopton at Bradock-down, 427, 428. who takes Saltash from him, 430.

Ruthen, Patriek, afterwards earl of Brentford, earl of Forth in Scotland, (as earl of Brentford,) iv. 82, 181. v. 235, 271, 305. (as earl of Forth,) iv. 403, 411. made field marshal, iii. 466. appointed by Charles I. general of his army in the room of the earl of Lindsey, who fell at Edge-hill, 296. great friendship between him and lord Hopton, iv. 459. was present with him when worsted by sir W. Waller at Athesford, *ib.* notice of his being made earl of Brentford, 471, 526. much consulted by the king on military affairs, 471. his character, 471, 526, v. 1. bishop Warburton's comment on it, *W.* iv. 471. wounded in the second battle of Newbury, iv. 588, 589. prince Rupert made general in his stead, 591. v. 1.

Ruther, general, i. 512.

Rutland, John Manners, eighth earl of, excused from ill health from being a parliament commissioner to Scotland for relief, iv. 153. one of the six commissioners to whom the

INDEX.

parliament intrusted their new broad seal, 340. one of the few lords who attended parliament, 1643. 403, 629.

Ruvignie, — v. 359.

Rytheby, (see Kettleby.)

Ryves, — one of the commissioners for the associated county of Dorset, v. 152.

S.

Sa, don Pantaleon, brother of the Portuguese ambassador, beheaded by Cromwell for a murder, vii. 30.

Sacheverel, — iii. 250, n.

Sackville, sir Edward, (see earl of Dorset.)

Sackville, lord George, *W.* iv. 345.

St. Alban's, Richard de Burgh, earl of, fourth earl of Clanrickard, i. 266.

St. Alban's, earl of, (see marquis of Clanrickard.)

St. Alban's, earl of, (see sir T. Jermyn.)

St. Andrews, archbishop of, (see J. Spottiswood.)

Saint-George, colonel, killed at the taking of Leicester, v. 177.

St. Ghislain recovered to the Spaniards through the instrumentality of the earl of Bristol, vii. 233.

Saint-Hill, — one of the commissioners for the associated county of Devon, v. 152.

Saint-John, Oliver, i. 246, 258, 445. ii. 606. *W.* ii. 97. seldom known to smile, i. 246. his character, 324. one of the leading men in the house of commons, 347, n. made solicitor general, 370. defends the earl of Strafford's attainder in point of law before the lords, 407. seconds sir A. Haslerig's bill for settling the militia, 487. one of the committee of the commons appointed to sit

during their recess, ii. 10. was the chief instrument to devise and contrive all the propositions and acts of undutifulness towards the king, 59. advises the king to offer an expedient with regard to the bill pending respecting pressing men for Ireland, 70. consequence of this step, 71. declares the power of the militia not to be in the king, 77. one of the commissioners to whom the parliament intrusted their new broad seal, iv. 340. he and Hambden much governed Pym, 438. one of the parliament's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 36. he, Vane, and Prideaux acted as spies on the rest, 69. his solicitorship revoked by the king, 38. was in favour of the self-denying ordinance, 90. the parliament's chief ambassador to the Dutch, to invite them to a strict union, vi. 594, 595. Cromwell never zealous for the Dutch war, but governed in it by him, 607. bishop Warburton's comment on this statement, *W.* vii. 2.

Saint-John, Oliver lord, present on the parliament side at the battle of Edge-hill, iii. 272. killed there, 290. his character, *ib.* notice of his being made a peer, 293, n.

St. John's college, the worst endowed in Oxford, at the time of (abp.) Laud being sent there, i. 159.

St. Katherine's, abbot of, viii. 208, 213.

Saint-Leger, sir William, lord president of Munster, ii. 585, 588. v. 588.

St. Paul's cathedral, fines of the high-commission court assigned for its rebuilding, i. 166.

Salisbury, a rising there in favour

INDEX.

- of Charles II. vii. 139. unfortunate issue of it, 142.
- Salisbury, William Cecil, second earl of, one of the counsellors with the king at York, i. 279. had been appointed at the parliament's desire lord lieutenant of Dorsetshire, ii. 272. one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 71, 571. one of the commissioners sent by parliament to the king with propositions of peace, 402. his character, 559. was servilely obsequious to the court, *ib.* deserted the king at York, and returned to the parliament, *ib.* one of the few lords who attended parliament, 1643. iv. 403, 630. one of the parliament commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 36. he and the earl of Pembroke totally without credit or interest in the parliament or country, 73. *W. in loc.* when the house of peers was put down by Cromwell, he got himself chosen a member of the house of commons, iv. 560.
- Salisbury, bishop of, (see B. Duppa.)
- Saltash taken by the king's forces, iii. 430.
- Saltpetre, an act for the free making of, i. 503.
- Sanderson, Dr. Robert, afterwards bp. of Lincoln, one of the chaplains allowed by the army to attend Charles I. at Newmarket, v. 442.
- Sandford, — prognosticated the earl of Pembroke's death, i. 104.
- Sandwich, earl of, (see Edward Mountague.)
- Sandys, colonel, commanded the parliament's forces in the encounter near Worcester, iii. 235. died of his wounds, 236, 253, 626.
- Santen, a handsome open town, belonging to that part of the duchy of Cleve which was assigned to the elector of Brandenburg, vii. 119.
- Savile, John lord, a rival of the earl of Strafford, i. 455. bereaved by him of all power and place at court, *ib.* made treasurer of the king's household, ii. 63.
- Savile, Thomas lord, afterwards earl of Sussex, iii. 575, 579. his character, i. 273. ii. 600. a bitter enemy to the earl of Strafford, i. 273. had held a correspondence with the Scots, *ib.* one of the commissioners appointed by the king to treat with the Scots at Rippon, 274. sworn a privy counsellor, 341. one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. he and the chancellor of the exchequer alone advised a civil reception of those lords who came over to the king from parliament, iv. 203. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, 632.
- Savoy, duke of, Charles Emanuel II. vii. 364. compelled by Cromwell's interposition to restore the privileges to the valley of Lucerne, vii. 297.
- Say, W^m. Fiennes, first viscount, i. 305, 436. ii. 109, 285, 606. iii. 276, 296, 630, 321, 556. iv. 191. vi. 110, *n. W.* i. 448. iii. 565. refuses to make the protestation against holding intelligence with the Scots, i. 207. was not at York with the king on his Scotch expedition, being ill, 274. was the oracle of the puritans, i. 318. sworn of the privy-council,

I N D E X.

341. one of the governing voices in the house of lords, 347. n. a design of making him master of the wards, 371, 405, 446. which he was, 534. notice of his speech on the earl of Strafford's trial, 380. was an entire enemy to church and state, 409. promised the king to screen the earl of Strafford, under the hope of obtaining the treasurership, 447, 536. how by his advice the king injudiciously interfered in the bill pending in parliament against the earl of Strafford, 447, 448. advised the king to consult the bishops as to the point of conscience in signing the act of attainder against the earl, ii. 111. is refused a safe conduct by the king when appointed by parliament one of their commissioners to treat with him at Oxford, iii. 485, 486. observations respecting this refusal, 486. the earl of Pembroke gave himself up into his hands, 555. one of the few lords who attended parliament, 1643. iv. 403, 630. supposed to be the only one of the independent party in the house of peers, v. 89. why he tried to prevail on the king to consent to the parliament's demands made in the treaty at Newport, vi. 155, 161. notice of his character and previous conduct, iii. 317, 564. was educated at New college Oxford, 565. the duke of Buckingham courted his friendship in order to be popular, but cast him off, finding him too imperious, and in favour of too dangerous mutations, *ib.* to what lengths disposed to go, 566. afterwards fell into as much contempt with those whom he

had led, as with those whom he had undone, *ib.*
 Scarborough castle delivered up by sir H. Cholmondeley to the queen, *iii.* 446.
 Scarsdale, earl of, (see lord Deincourt.)
 Scawen, — one of the commissioners for the associated county of Cornwall, v. 152.
 Schomberg, Frederic, afterwards first duke of, *vii.* 114, 233, 234. *W.* *vii.* 233.
 Schout, Theodore, *iv.* 373.
 Scilly, after being vigorously defended by sir J. Greenvil, is delivered to sir G. Ayscue, *vi.* 611.
 Scot, — he and Robinson sent by parliament to meet Monk marching towards London, *vii.* 399, 408.
 Scotland, the wilderness of England, its state before the long parliament of Charles I. i. 133. his visit there to be crowned, i. 138, 508. his intentions of introducing the English liturgy there, how far and why opposed, 146—149, 508. his feeling towards Scotland, and consequent determination, 151, 195. state of the church there, 144, 145. where bishop Warburton considers that lord Clarendon has taken a wrong view of it, *W.* i. 150. the king, during his stay, erects the bishopric of Edinburgh, i. 152. and prefers some bishops to secular offices unseasonably, 154. the bishops had little influence in Scotland, *ib.* the liturgy and canons appointed to be drawn up by some of them, and submitted to archbishop Laud, bishop Juxon, and bishop Wren, 183, 184. observations respecting the canons and the liturgy, 185, 191, 508. nothing

INDEX.

but a fear of popery would have driven the nation into open rebellion against the king, 187. the liturgy, how received in Edinburgh, 193, 196. Scotland and its affairs never thought of in England, 195. ladies of quality side with the lower orders against the bishops before their husbands, 196. the Scottish covenant formed, 197. a clause in it for the extirpation of episcopacy, *ib.* this opposition at first thought light of by the other party, 198. colonel Lesley chosen general of the covenant, 199. the king raises an army and navy against them, 201, 202. which would have ended the war at once if they had been vigorously exerted, 205. the earl of Holland retires before the covenanters at Dunce, 210. they write to the three English commanders, 211. a treaty concluded, 217. the consequences of their success, 222. ill effects of the king's not holding in person the Scotch parliament to settle their differences, 511. the covenanters joined by the earl of Argyle, 225. their letter to the French king intercepted, 228. English preparations for a new war, 248. lord Conway routed at Newburn, 255. the Scotch, however, down to their conquest by Cromwell, were always beaten by the English, unless assisted with English troops, 256. they petition the king, 274. a treaty appointed at Rippon in consequence, *ib.* error in this point, 288. names of the commissioners, 274. their proceedings, 275. the earl of Strafford ad-

vises the king to prosecute the war, 280. a cessation agreed on, 282. the treaty adjourned to London, 283. the mutual confidence of the covenanters, and their deference to the clergy of their party extraordinary, 292. the Scotch commissioners' reception in London, 331, 334. *n.* a gratuity voted by parliament to the Scotch army, 466. the act of pacification between England and Scotland passed the parliament, 489. a public thanksgiving appointed in consequence, *ii.* 8. the king sets out for Scotland, *i.* 489. transactions in Scotland touching Mountrose, Argyle, and Hamilton, *ii.* 16. how the king was treated in Scotland, 35. divers seditious acts assented to by the king, 35—37. episcopacy abolished, 36. the king's power in Scotland, during his absence, to be vested in lords of the secret council, *ib.* the king returns to England, 37. declaration of parliament, after the battle of Edge-hill, inviting the Scots to assist them, *iii.* 305. condition and inclinations of Scotland, 308. substance of the king's message to the privy-council of Scotland upon occasion of the parliament's declaration to that kingdom, 344. petition from the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland to the king, 499. his answer, 509. negotiations of the Scotch commissioners with the king, that they might be mediators, and for a parliament in Scotland, 521. a passport for the commissioners to go to London, why re-

I N D E X.

fused by the king, 526, 527. transactions in Scotland of the committee of both houses of parliament, iv. 274. a covenant for the extirpation of prelacy proposed by the Scots between the two kingdoms, and agreed to, 274—280. copy of it, 280. 100,000*l.* paid by the English parliament for the cooperation of the Scots, 289. a parliament summoned by the covenanters, 293, 624. substance of the treaty between the two nations, 298. the Scots enter England, 347. a letter from the peers on the king's side to the council in Scotland, 348, 630. an extract of the declaration of the kingdom of Scotland, 404. an extract of the declaration of England and Scotland, 407. the Scotch commissioners jealous and dissatisfied with the proceedings of the English parliament, v. 15. an account of the earl of Mountrose's expedition into Scotland, 91. a treaty between the king and the Scots set on foot by the interposition of France, 345. the parties cannot agree on the point of church-government, 353, 354. a farther account of this negociation, 383. the king puts himself under the protection of the Scotch army at Newark, 394. their treatment of him, 395. he orders Newark to be surrendered, whereupon the Scottish army marches northwards with him to Newcastle, 396. transactions relating to him in the Scotch army, 407. at their desire he orders the surrender of Oxford and all his other garrisons, 416. the parliament

upon the Scots' request send propositions of peace to the king, 417. the Scots enforce these propositions, 418. his answer, 419. the parliament demand, and the Scots deliver up the king, 419, 421. the Scotch commissioners' private treaty with him at Hampton-court, 529, 530. observations on it, 531. substance of this scandalous treaty, 532. the Scots' preparations for an expedition into England, vi. 8, 44. the Scotch parliament meet, their deliberations, 10. commissioners sent into Scotland from the English parliament, 15. letter of the Scotch parliament to the prince of Wales, 83. deliberations in the prince's council about it, 85. Cromwell marches into Scotland, 91. is received at Edinburgh, 93. the committee of the Scottish parliament order Mountrose to disband, *ib.* the Scottish parliament being called, condemn duke Hamilton's engagement, 94. a proposition concerning Scotland in the personal treaty with the king in the Isle of Wight, 184. Charles II. proclaimed in Scotland, and commissioners sent thence to him, 271. state of Scotland, 1649. 273. commissioners had been sent from the Scotch parliament before the death of Charles I. to the English parliament, 274. their private instructions from Argyle's party, 276: they enter their protest against the king's trial, 277. the parliament's answer to it after the king's murder, 280. the commissioners reply, are imprisoned, but afterwards freed, 281. the marquiss of Ar-

INDEX.

gyle clogs the act of proclaiming Charles II. with a clause for the covenant, 282. Middleton assembles some troops in Scotland, *ib.* factions in the king's court with reference to Scotland, 283. the parties of the Scots at the Hague, 1649. 287. the king invited to Scotland again upon the old conditions, 398, 402. his answer, 400. Scotch commissioners meet him at Breda, 401. he resolves to go into Scotland, 404. arguments of some against this step, *ib.* Mountrose arrives in Scotland, 412. publishes his declaration, *ib.* the continuation of his affairs to his execution, 413. the king arrives in Scotland and takes the covenant, 436. the clergy always about him, 438. their sermons before him, *ib.* the Scots raise an army against Cromwell sent by the English parliament, 453. what advantage they might have had against him, 455. he routs them at Dunbar, *ib.* *W. in loc.* he enters Edinburgh, 456. of what advantage to the king, *ib.* state of the king's affairs in Scotland, 484. a parliament summoned in his name, 487. it meets at Stirling and reconciles the lords, *ib.* his coronation, 488. an army raised, of which he is general, *ib.* defeated at Worcester, 510. an account of Scotland brought to him at Paris, by a Scottish vicar that Middleton brought to him, 577. the requests to him from his friends there, 578. the chancellor of the exchequer appointed to make all despatches for Scotland, 579—582. the state of Scotland under the protector-

ate, vii. 33, 52, 168. bishop Warburton's observations respecting the Scots, *W.* i. 254, 258, iv. 407. v. 393, 395, 408. he calls the Scotch army to which Charles I. surrendered himself, an execrable crew of banditti, with whom honour and good faith went for nothing, v. 407. he remarks, that neither the Scots nor the English nation were answerable for the infamy, the one of selling, the other of murdering their king, vi. 273.

Scotland, chancellor of, (see earl of Lowden.)

Scroop, Emanuel lord, afterwards earl of Sunderland, i. 420.

Scroop, colonel, vi. 98.

Scroop, sir Gervas, his extraordinary recovery from the wounds he received in the battle of Edge-hill, iii. 294.

Scroop, son of sir Gervas, iii. 294.

Scudamore, lord, ambassador at Paris, iii. 366.

Seaford, George Mackenzie, second earl of, vi. 287.

Seal, (see Broad Seal.)

Secretaries of state, the inferiority of their office in the beginning of the reign of Charles I. i. 113.

Sects, divers, increase in the army, v. 428.

Selden, John, *W.* ii. 34. much assisted lord Littleton, having a great friendship for him, ii. 491. Charles I. once had an idea of taking the great seal away from lord Littleton, and intrusting it with him, 497. though it was supposed he would not have accepted it, and why, 498. his opposition

INDEX.

- to commissions of array, iii. 91.
- Self-denying ordinance proposed in parliament by Vane and Cromwell, v. 21. passes the commons, 88. and the lords, 131.
- Seanneterre, (see M. la Ferté.)
- Seaby, — originally a common soldier, vii. 278. one of the agitators of the army, *ib.* so intimate with Cromwell, as often to be his bedfellow, *ib.* his negotiation with Charles II. *ib.*
- Seymour, Francis lord, insisted on his right of voting on the earl of Strafford's trial, though he was a commoner when the accusation was first brought up, i. 381. one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. accompanies the marquis of Hertford into the west, 120, 181, 608. and into Glamorganshire, 226. his character, 547. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 633. one of the king's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 37.
- Seymour, colonel, iv. 323.
- Seymour, Harry, of the king's (Charles II.) bedchamber, iv. 204. vi. 69, 542. sent to the king from his friends in England, vii. 81.
- Seymour, sir John, iv. 146.
- Sheldrake, queen Jane, vi. 243.
- Shaftesbury, Hyde, (lord Clarendon,) being returned member of parliament for this place, and also for Wotton-Basset, chose to represent the latter, i. 233, 2.
- Shaftesbury, earl of, (see sir A. A. Cooper.)
- Sheffield, colonel, iv. 89.
- Sheldon, Gilbert, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, whilst warden of All Souls, Oxford, informs his friend Mr. Hyde, (lord Clarendon,) that the university was ready to contribute its plate to the king, iii. 245, 2. one of Charles I.'s commissioners in ecclesiastical matters to treat at Uxbridge, v. 51. allowed by the army to attend the king at Newmarket as one of his chaplains, 442.
- Sheldon, major Thomas, died of wounds received in the battle of Lansdown, iv. 125, 606.
- Sherborne, lord Digby routed there, v. 293.
- Ship-money, the levy of, by the king, i. 120. pronounced legal by the judges, when tried by Hambden, 121, 235. the evil consequences of this decision, 122. ship-money made most odious by lord Finch's speech, 127. the writ for levying it drawn up by Noy, attorney general, 130. the king offers parliament to give up his claim of ship-money for twelve subsidies, 238, 514. but dissolves the parliament whilst debating on the measure, 246, 516. an act annulling all proceedings for its collection, 504.
- Shrewsbury, taken by the parliament's forces, v. 67.
- Shrewsbury, the noble family of, i. 99.
- Shropshire, the condition of, at the end of 1642. iii. 447.
- Shurley, George, iv. 393.
- Sidney, Algernon, vii. 434.
- Six clerks, the, these situations were in the gift of the master of the rolls, i. 92.
- Skelton, Richard, solicitor gene-

INDEX.

- ral, succeeded by Littleton, ii. 492.
- Skinner, Robert, bishop of Oxford, one of the bishops who signed the protestation against their constrained absence from the house of lords, ii. 116.
- Skippon, captain Philip, ii. 172, 173, 446. iii. 21, 618. *W.* iv. 236. notice of him, ii. 165. appointed major general of the London militia, *ib.* 427. ordered to attend Westminster with a guard, 166. employed in the siege of Reading, iv. 26. makes conditions for the earl of Essex's foot, intercepted in Cornwall, 531, *n.* 547, 548.
- Slanning, sir Nicholas, iv. 128. governor of Pendennis castle, iii. 424. assists in raising volunteers in Cornwall, *ib.* aids sir Ralph Hopton in becoming master of that county, 429, 551, *n.* his part in the battle near Stratton, iv. 99. and at Lansdown, 122. and in the siege of Bristol, 144. where he fell, 149. his character, 149, 150, 612, 613.
- Slannings, the, v. 427.
- Slingsby, captain, iii. 594, 595. refuses to obey the earl of Warwick, as admiral, in compliance with the king's command, iii. 114. was a creature of lord Digby's, and recommended to him by the queen, 595. had been secretary to the earl of Strafford, *ib.*
- Slingsby, lieutenant colonel, his part in the siege of Bristol, iv. 144.
- Slingsby, sir Harry, tried before a high court of justice by Cromwell on account of his loyalty, vii. 246, 247. condemned, 251. executed, 252. an account of him, *ib.*
- Smith, ——— v. 188.
- Smith, Dudley, slain in the battle of Roundway-down, iv. 136.
- Smith, captain John, rescued the royal standard at the battle of Edge-hill, iii. 279.
- Smith, sir John, brother of lord Carrington, died of wounds received in the battle of Alresford, iv. 461. notice of him, 462.
- Smith, major, i. 280.
- Soap, the odious project of, chiefly framed and executed by papists, i. 262.
- Soldiers before Portsmouth revolt to the parliament, vii. 388. the soldiers in London resolve to restore the parliament, and wait on the speaker, 390. (see Army.)
- Solicitor general, (Robert Skelton,) ii. 492.
- Somerset, duke of, (see earl of Hertford.)
- Somerset, Robert Carr, or Ker, earl of, i. 101. the only one of the favourites of James I. who did not incur the public odium, i. 17. privy to the murder of sir J. Overbury at the instigation of his wife, *ib.* condemned for this crime, *ib.* why he was disliked at court, *ib.*
- Somerset, (Frances Howard,) countess of, instigated her husband to be privy to the murder of sir J. Overbury, i. 17. condemned for the murder, *ib.*
- Somerset, lord John, son of the marquis of Worcester, iii. 465, 467.
- Soubize, M. de, i. 49.
- Southampton, Thomas Wriothesley, fourth earl of, v. 339, 495. vi. 244. vii. 81. refuses to take the protestation im-

I N D E X.

- posed by parliament in consequence of the discovery of the correspondence between the court and the army, i. 442, 476. gains over to the king his nephew lord Spencer, iii. 65. one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, 71, 571. urges the king to send a message of peace to parliament, 204, 621. one of those who carried the message, 206, 208. how received in the house of lords, 209. his character, 541. married lord Dunsmore's daughter, (Elizabeth Leigh,) 547. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632. one of the prince of Wales's council, v. 111. he and the duke of Richmond sent to the parliament with a message for a treaty, 26, 28. one of the king's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, 37. excused himself from quitting the king to attend the prince of Wales, 116. Titchfield one of his seats, 489. one of those the king desired might attend him in the Isle of Wight, vi. 108. present at his funeral, 241. receives the garter from Charles II. on his restoration, vii. 504.
- Southampton, (Elizabeth Vernon,) countess of, v. 489.
- Southampton, (Elizabeth Leigh,) countess of, iii. 547.
- Southerland, (Sutherland,) John, seventeenth earl of, joined colonel Straghan against the marquis of Mountrose, vi. 414.
- Spa, after its cold waters are drank, the hot baths of Aken are resorted to by many, vii. 107.
- Spain, its counsels always influenced by the clergy, i. 28. an account of prince Charles's (Charles I.) journey into Spain, 20. peace between England and Spain, and why, 6, 117. notice respecting the war, 38, 43. its origin was a private quarrel of the duke of Buckingham's, 63. the feeling of the English with respect to this war, 69, 70. Spain favourable to the parliament against the king, iii. 358. particulars of lord Cottington's and Hyde's embassy, 357, 378, 405, 440, 458, 464. some account of the masquerade exercise, vi. 369. n. of running the course, 370, n. and of the *toros*, *ib.* state of the court there, 1649. 382. ambassadors treated with more respect at Madrid than at any other court, 446. Spain sends an ambassador extraordinary to Cromwell, but fails in the proposed end, vii. 174. a treaty between Spain and Charles II. 185. the Spanish West India fleet beaten by a squadron belonging to the English parliament, 189. the captured bullion sent to London, 196. lord Muskerry joins his regiment with the Spanish, 228. St. Ghislain recovered to the Spaniards through the earl of Bristol's means, 233. the Spanish defeated by the French at Dunkirk, 283. observations on this war with France, 339. some particulars respecting the treaty between the two nations settled by cardinal Mazarine and don Lewis de Haro, 341, 343, 348.
- Spain, Philip IV. king of, i. 28, 63. vi. 310, 378, 386, n. kept his ambassador at London

INDEX.

- throughout the rebellion, vi. 249. who bought for him many of king Charles's pictures, *ib.* notice of his running several courses with don Lewis de Haro, 369. his audience of Charles II.'s ambassadors, 379, 380. his answer to a communication from them, 407. he desires them to depart, 458. dismisses the chancellor of the exchequer courteously, 467. contends with France for Cromwell's friendship, vii. 50.
- Spain, queen of, Margaret of Austria, i. 66. vi. 386, *n.*
- Spain, queen of, Mary Anna of Austria, notice of, vi. 381.
- Speaker of the house of commons usually a lawyer; i. 297. his election had always been by designation of the king, i. 519.
- Speech, Mr. Pym's, on delivering certain petitions to the house of lords, printed by order of the commons, ii. 207—211. the king's speech and protestation at the head of his forces, iii. 220. the substance of his speeches to the gentry and commonalty of the several counties through which he passed, 260. the substance of his speech to the parliament at Oxford, iv. 398. Cromwell's speech upon the king's answer respecting the four acts sent to him by parliament, v. 512. sir H. Vane's speech upon the commissioners' report of the treaty at Newport, vi. 199. substance of Cromwell's speech to a new parliament called by him; viii. 36. his speech upon passing the humble petition and advice, 207. the lord lieutenant of Ireland's speech to the assembly of confederate catholics at Kilkenny, viii. 78.
- Spencer, Henry lord, afterwards first earl of Sunderland, vii. 85, *W.* iii. 66. iv. 239, 246, 270. gained over from the parliament by his uncle the earl of Southampton, iii. 65. (as earl of Sunderland,) slain in the battle of Newbury, iv. 239. notice of him, *ib.*
- Spiller, sir H. i. 13.
- Spinola, marquis, i. 37.
- Spotswood, sir Robert, notice of, v. 415. was made secretary of state of Scotland by the king in the room of the earl of Lanrick, *ib.* taken prisoner, as an adherent of the marquis of Mountrose, *ib.* and put to death, *ib.*
- Spottiswood, John, archbishop of St. Andrew's, notice of, i. 154. made chancellor of Scotland, *ib.*
- Spurstow, — a presbyterian minister, his rude behaviour to Charles I. vi. 154, *n.* 168.
- Stacy, colonel, condemned and executed as an adherent of Charles II. vii. 253.
- Stafford garrisoned by some gentlemen for Charles I. iii. 456.
- Stafford, sir Edward, vice-chamberlain to queen Elizabeth, contributed to the rise of lord Cottington, vi. 466.
- Stafford, captain, betrays Wexford, of which he was governor, to Cromwell, viii. 105.
- Stafford, William Howard, viscount, was beyond sea, 1643: iv. 630.
- Staines, Dr. quarter-master-general, v. 498.
- Stamford, Henry Grey, first earl of, iii. 145, 146, 618, 418, 427, 429, 430, 434. iv.

INDEX.

- 106, 119, 176, 316, *W.* iii. 434. marches into Cornwall with an army, iv. 95. beaten near Stratton, 100. how he attempted to exculpate himself, 102. besieged in Exeter by prince Maurice, 215. he surrenders to him on articles, 219. one of the few lords who attended parliament, 1643. 403, 630.
- Stamford, lady, (Anne Cecil,) vi. 576, *W.* vi. 577.
- Stanhope, Charles lord, was beyond sea, 1643. iv. 630.
- Stannery-courts, an act against divers encroachments and oppressions in them, i. 503.
- Stapleton, — iii. 187.
- Stapleton, sir Philip, ii. 45. hostile to the earl of Strafford, i. 329. active for the bill to take away the court of York, 418. one of the committee to attend Charles I. into Scotland, ii. 15. notice of him, 16. one of those sent with the parliament's answer to the king concerning Hull, 397. and with their petition to him in favour of the Yorkshire petition, iii. 578, and with their petition to him at Beverley, 123. opposed the self-denying ordinance in the house of commons, v. 89. one of the leaders of the presbyterian party in that house, 454. withdrew beyond sea, when the speaker and several members of the commons repaired to the army, 465. died at Calais, *ib.*
- Stapley, — his engagement for Charles II. vii. 243, 244. discovers what he knew of the plot, 245, 249.
- Star-chamber, its powers enlarged, i. 121. its proceedings under queen Elizabeth as rigorous, but more orderly and grave, i. 127. to whom its errors under Charles I. were chiefly owing, 129. dissolved by act of parliament, 459, 499. its exorbitances, 499. its origin, 500. its abolition a popular measure, *ib.*
- Stawel, sir John, iii. 201. iv. 573. v. 141; 152, 196, 197. accompanied the marquis of Hertford into the west, iii. 181, 608. the government of Taunton committed to him, iv. 110. was eager for the association of the four western counties under the prince of Wales, v. 86. notice of him, *ib.*
- Stayner, captain, assisted in the defeat of the Spanish fleet at Santa Cruz, vii. 214.
- Steel, — vi. 254. vii. 375.
- Stenny, the duke of Buckingham so called by James I. i. 30.
- Stephens, sir John, vii. 421, 422.
- Stevens, Edward, iv. 146.
- Steward of the king's household, (see Lord steward.)
- Steward, Dr. clerk of the closet to Charles I. and dean of the king's chapel, one of the king's commissioners in ecclesiastical matters to treat at Uxbridge, v. 45. his answer in defence of the church of England to Mr. Henderson, 54. recommended by Charles I. to Charles II. to instruct him in matters relating to the church, vi. 37, 321. his objection to Charles II.'s proposed declaration, 321. his death, 572.
- Stewart, lord Bernard, afterwards earl of Litchfield, iv. 539. v. 182. commanded the king's troop of guards, iii. 266. was at the battle of Edge-hill, 289. his part in the fight at Crop-

INDEX.

redy bridge, iv. 502, 504. notice of his being made earl of Litchfield, v. 182. fell at Chester, where the king's horse were routed by Pointz, 284, 285. his character, 285.

Stewart, lord George, (see lord Aubigney.)

Stewart, lord John, was in the battle of Edge-hill, iii. 289. died of wounds received in the battle of Alresford, 425, *n.* 426, *n.* 461. his character, 426, *n.* 461.

Stockdale, — i. 527.

Storm, a terrible one on the day of Cromwell's death, vii. 292.

Stradlin, captain, deprived of his ship for his loyalty, iii. 114, 590.

Stradling, sir Edward, taken prisoner by the parliament forces at the battle of Edge-hill, iii. 292.

Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, earl of, lord lieutenant of Ireland, i. 517, 270, 283, 286, 524, 356, 369, 372, 416, 419, 420, 422, 435, 445, 464, 472, 492. ii. 13, 54, 585, 586, 597, 81, 109, 110, 122, 153, 605. *W.* i. 214, 222, 306, 452. ii. 122. the earl of Holland hostile to him, i. 216. opposes the removal of sir J. Coke from the secretaryship, 222. notice of his being made earl of Strafford, *ib.* advised king Charles to call a parliament to consult about the Scotch covenanters, 512. his alacrity in the affair, 513. sir H. Vane his implacable enemy, 245, 265, 266. iii. 568. why he preferred being lieutenant general in the second expedition against the Scotch covenanters, to being general, i. 248, *n.* 254. lord Conway very dear to him, 250. the earls of Essex and Hol-

land his enemies, and why, 249, 265, 266. the army incensed against him, 257. one of the committee of state, 263. notice of his government in Ireland, 265. his recall a most fatal step of the king's in the opinion of bp. Warburton, *W.* i. 265. lord Savile his bitter enemy, i. 273. iii. 548. complaint of the Scotch commissioners against him, i. 276. Wilmot and O'Neile his enemies, 279. v. 99. one of the counsellors with the king at York, 280. advises the prosecution of the war, *ib.* the queen hostile to him, i. 294. debate in the house of commons concerning him, begun by Pym, ended in his impeachment, 300—305, 520. *W.* i. 305, 382, 386, 391, 405. his reply in the house of lords to the announcement of his intended impeachment, i. 306. committed to the black rod, *ib.* extraordinary proceedings of the commons against him, 315, 336, 376, 377. sent to the Tower, 525. Denzil Hollis did not intermeddle in his trial, he having married his sister, 329. the Scotch commissioners' charges against him in parliament, 335. proceedings there towards his trial, *ib.* sir J. Hotham his enemy, 347, *n.* ii. 181. lord Littleton made a baron in order to be of service to him at his trial, 381. who nevertheless would not act as a peer, *ib.* was instrumental to Littleton's rise, ii. 492. his trial before the lords, i. 382. bill of attainder passed against him by the commons, 397—406. those who voted against it placarded as Straffordians, or enemies to their country,

INDEX.

407. the king willing that he should be exiled or imprisoned for life, but declares he could not give his assent to an act of parliament impeaching him of treason, 423. Mr. Hyde in vain endeavours to dissuade the earl of Essex from voting against him for treason, 425. the bill against him delayed in the house of lords, 427. two accidents contributed to its passing, *ib. viz.* a correspondence between the court and certain officers in the army, 428. and the death of the earl of Bedford, 445. endeavours made to dissuade the king from declaring before parliament that he could not sign the bill condemning the earl for treason, 447, 448. lord Say promised to screen him, and why, 447, 534. the house of lords pass the bill against him, intimidated by the mob, 450. he advises the king to pass the bill, 452. who signs it by commission, *ib.* the earl beheaded, 454. bishop Warburton's observation thereupon, *W. iv.* 245. his magnanimous behaviour at the block, *i.* 454. his character, 455. bp. Warburton's opinion of him, *W. i.* 450. sir P. Stapleton one of those who took part against him, *ii.* 16. treated with civility at his trial by Jeffery Palmer, 49. a committee had been sent by the Irish parliament to assist in any complaint against him, 585. he foresaw and advertised the king of the rebellion in Ireland, 587. lady Carlisle his constant friend, 603. the duke of Richmond vehemently opposed his attainder, 217. Slingsby was his secretary, *iii.* 595. recommended the earl of Leicester as his successor in Ireland, 475. the marquis of Hertford did not concur in his prosecution, 541. the earl of Southampton, though not his friend, opposed the violent proceedings against him, 542. he obtained a peerage for lord Seymour, being his great friend, 547. why lord Falkland was so severe against him, 245. Mr. Pym accused of acting with personal animosity against him at his trial, 439. his government advantageous to Ireland, *viii.* 9.
- Straffordians, or enemies to their country, those so called who voted against the bill for the earl of Strafford's attainder, *i.* 407.
- Straghan, colonel, sent against the marquis of Mountrose, *vi.* 414. routs him, 415. (see Straughan.)
- Strange, James Stanley, lord, afterwards seventh earl of Derby, thought to have more power in Cheshire and Lancashire than he had, *iii.* 251, *n.* 625. succeeds as earl of Derby, 252, 626. accused of high treason by the commons, 258, *n.* undertook to reduce Manchester, 259, *n.* and to suppress all commotions in Lancashire and Cheshire, 447. his ill success and want of conduct, 449, 450. *iv.* 442, 463. retired to the Isle of Man at the end of the war, *vi.* 491. meets Charles II. in Lancashire, 496. is sent by him to raise forces, 497. his ill success at Wigan, 502. wounded, 503. taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester, 515. executed, 504, 516. his character, *ib.*

INDEX.

- Strangeways, sir John, i. 373. one of those styled by the rabble persons disaffected to the kingdom, ii. 103, *n.* one of the commissioners for the associated county of Dorset, v. 152.
- Stratton, the earl of Stamford beaten near there, iv. 100.
- Straughan, captain, iii. 98, *n.* 99, *n.* 103. (see Straghan.)
- Streater, colonel, vii. 430.
- Stretch, Thomas, mayor of Limerick, countenanced a tumult there, viii. 228. hanged by the rebels, *ib.*
- Strickland, — the parliament's agent in Holland, iii. 357. vi. 269.
- Strickland, sir Robert, vi. 89.
- Strode, sir George, wounded at the battle of Edge-hill, iii. 292.
- Strode, or Stroud, William, i. 329. ii. 47. one of those ephori who most avowed curbing and suppressing of majesty, i. 253. one of the leading men in the commons, 347, *n.* how far trusted, 348, *n.* one of the committee of the commons appointed to sit during their recess, ii. 10. moved that the committee for drawing up a remonstrance might be revived, 23. one of the five members of the commons accused of high treason by order of the king, 124, 604. farther particulars relative to the charge, 125, 130, 147, 156, 162, 164, 169, 184, 192, 606, 229, 258, 276, 280, 306, 316, 342, 449, 459, 477, 548. iii. 44, 156, 618. his evil character, ii. 161. his part in military affairs, iii. 301. iv. 115.
- Sturgeson, John, signed the anabaptists' address to Charles II. vii. 266.
- Sudely castle surrendered to sir W. Waller, iv. 489.
- Suffolk, Theophilus Howard, first earl of, had been lord treasurer, i. 84. iv. 565.
- Suffolk, James Howard, third earl of, iv. 565. one of the few lords who attended parliament, 1643. iv. 403, 630.
- Sunderland, earl of, (see lord Scroop.)
- Sunderland, earl of, (see lord Spencer.)
- Sura, iii. 220.
- Sussex, earl of, (see lord Savile.)
- Sutherland, (see Southerland.)
- Swassenburgh, count of, archduke Leopold's ambassador at Madrid, vi. 450, *n.* who is obliged to dismiss him, though he loved him of all the world, vii. 181.
- Sweden, i. 224.
- Syms, — v. 164, 165.
- Syndercome, — vii. 276. his design against Cromwell, 289. his death, 290.
- T.
- Tacitus, iii. 351.
- Taffe, Theobald viscount, afterwards earl of Carlingford, vi. 472, 473. viii. 98. supported the king's cause in Ireland, viii. 66. made general of the artillery, 85. his negotiation with the duke of Lorraine, 207.
- Talbots' town surrendered to the marquis of Ormond, viii. 86.
- Tarah, lord, vii. 186.
- Taunton taken by the marquis of Hertford, iv. 110.
- Taylor, Jeremy, bishop of Down, *W.* v. 429.
- Temper of both houses of parliament, 1640. i. 317. of the city of London 1642. ii. 150. of the army and court at Oxford upon the king's return thither, 1643. iv. 259. of the army and court 1644. v. 1. of the city

I N D E X.

1647. 457. of the nation 1648.
vi. 1. of Charles II.'s friends
1658. vii. 240.
- Tewkesbury and Hereford taken
by sir W. Waller, both which
he presently left, iii. 468.
- Thanet, John Tufton, second
earl of, was beyond sea, 1643.
iv. 630.
- Thelwell, colonel, iv. 500, 586.
- Theodosius, (see prince of Por-
tugal.)
- Thomas, ——— signed the ana-
baptists' address to Charles II.
vii. 266.
- Thomas, Prince, vii. 232.
- Thornhill, colonel, v. 190.
- Throgmorton, sir William, se-
verely wounded in the fight at
Wigan, vi. 503. escapes into
Holland, *ib.*
- Thurlow, John, secretary to Crom-
well, vii. 156, 248, 325. *W.* vi.
139. vii. 165, 211, 291, 301.
- Tichborne, sir Henry, notice of,
iii. 482. made a lord justice
in Ireland; *ib.* iv. 393.
- Tichburn, ——— vii. 375.
- Tildesly, sir Thomas, goes to
Monroe, vi. 88. killed in the
fight at Wigan, 503. his cha-
racter, 506.
- Times, felicity of the, before the
long parliament, notwithstand-
ing some invasions on the sub-
ject, i. 131. compared with the
times of queen Elizabeth, *ib.*
and of king James, 132.
- Titchfield, a seat of the earl of
Southampton's, v. 489.
- Titus, captain, vi. 488.
- Tomkins, ——— a design discover-
ed in London, by which he,
Mr. Waller, and others, meant
to benefit the king, iv. 57. the
real project, 61. a vow and co-
venant taken by parliament on
its discovery, 71, 72. and
throughout the city and army,
74. he and Mr. Chaloner tried
and executed, 75.
- Tomlinson, colonel, Charles I.
committed to his custody at
St. James's, vi. 229. accused
by Herbert of stealing a gold
watch of the king's, *W.* *in loc.*
- Tonnage and poundage, origin
and custom of, i. 461. a new
act of parliament respecting,
463.
- Topping, lieutenant colonel, kill-
ed in the second battle of New-
bury, iv. 588.
- Torre, don Diego de la, Spanish
envoy in Ireland, vi. 389.
- Torrington, sir J. Digby routs the
parliament forces there, iv.
218.
- Tassitur, fortified by prince Ru-
pert, iv. 315.
- Tower of London, sir W. Balfour
dismissed by Charles I. from
being its lieutenant, ii. 80. co-
lonel Lunsford put in his place,
81. who resigns, and sir J.
Byron is appointed, 82. the
interference of the house of
commons respecting it, ii. 154,
172, 198, 235. the king is pre-
vailed upon by them to remove
sir J. Byron, and appoint sir
J. Coniers to the lieutenantcy,
235, 236. iv. 226. the custody
of the Tower committed by
parliament to the lord mayor
Pennington, iv. 227.
- Towers, John, bishop of Peter-
borough, one of the bishops
who signed the protestation
against their constrained ab-
sence from the house of lords,
ii. 116.
- Townsend, sir Horatio, vii. 397.
a design of surprising Lynne
by him and lord Willoughby
of Parham, vii. 322. both of
them apprehended, 332. one
of the committee sent by par-

INDEX.

- liament to wait on Charles II. at the Hague, 499.
- Trajan, emperor, iii. 220.
- Traquaire, John Stuart, first earl of, high treasurer of Scotland, i. 218. vi. 306. the only layman consulted by abp. Laud about introducing the English liturgy into Scotland, i. 191. holds the Scotch parliament as the king's commissioner, 510. why the king should not have appointed him, 511. was the wisest of the Scotch nation that the historian knew, *ib.*
- Treaty of pacification entered upon, and concluded with Scotland, 1639. i. 217. a treaty appointed at Rippon, 274. adjourned to London, 283. a treaty between the two parties in Devon and Cornwall, iii. 434. the parliament agrees with the king that there should be a treaty at Oxford, upon proposals for a cessation, 485, 487, 495, 528. which comes to nothing, 528. the sum of the demands and concessions of both sides upon the first article of the treaty, iv. 1. the treaty expires, 17. substance of the treaty between the English commissioners and the Scots, 298. particulars of the treaty at Uxbridge, v. 36. a treaty between the king and the Scots set on foot by the interposition of France, 345. the commissioners of Scotland's private treaty with the king at Hampton-court, 529. which was renewed and signed by him in the Isle of Wight, 530. the substance of it, 532. particulars of the treaty at Newport, vi. 152. a treaty signed April 1657. between Spain and Charles II. vii. 185. particulars of a treaty between France and Spain, 341. an account of the close of it in respect of Portugal and the prince of Condé, 349. (see Peace.)
- Tredagh taken by storm by Cromwell, after a brave defence, vi. 395.
- Trelawney — vii. 323. why unjustly expelled the house of commons and imprisoned, ii. 283.
- Trelawnies, the, v. 427.
- Tremouille, duke de, vi. 517.
- Trevannion, sir Charles, iv. 613.
- Trevannion, colonel John, iii. 429. undertakes with others to raise volunteers for Charles I. in Cornwall, iii. 424. assisted sir Ralph Hopton to become master of that county, 551. his part in the battle near Stratton, iv. 99. and in the siege of Bristol, 144. where he was killed, 149, 612. notice of him, 149, 150, 613.
- Trevannions, the, v. 427.
- Trevor, Thomas, baron, iv. 287, 342.
- Trial of the earl of Strafford, i. 382. of Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Chaloner, iv. 75. of abp. Laud, v. 31. of king Charles I. vi. 230. of duke Hamilton, the earls of Holland and Norwich, lord Capel, and sir J. Owen, 252 — 255. of Mr. Mordaunt, sir H. Slingsby, and Dr. Hewet, vii. 246.
- Tuam, titular archbishop of, viii. 140, 151, 155.
- Tullibardine, William Murray, second earl of, i. 93.
- Tumult about Lambeth-house, i. 252. about the house of peers, 449. about Whitehall, 450. great tumults about the house of peers, ii. 86. the tumults increase about Whitehall and Westminster, 90. Cromwell suppresses a tumult of level-

- lers, v. 505. proceedings of the Roman catholic clergy at Waterford occasioned popular tumults, particularly in Limerick, viii. 27, 28. a tumult at Limerick upon the lord lieutenant's approach, 142.
- Tunis, Cromwell's fleet under Blake enters the harbour of, and burns their fleet, vii. 179.
- Turenne, marshal, vi. 584. vii. 99. *W.* iv. 24. v. 348. escaped into Flanders, when some of his party were imprisoned by cardinal Mazarine, vi. 376, *n.* 378. receives the duke of York who joined his army with all respect, 567. the Spaniards at Dunkirk forewarned by the prince of Condé of what plan of operations he would adopt against them, vii. 281. observation on him and the prince of Condé, *ib.* he defeats the Spaniards at Dunkirk, 284. offers assistance to the duke of York in any reasonable enterprise in England, 337.
- Turenne, madam, vii. 300.
- Tyrenes, Anthony, iv. 373.
- V.
- Vall-Perise, marquis de, one of the Spanish council of state, vi. 382. notice of him, 386, *n.* had a great detestation of the English rebels, *ib.*
- Vaudruske, — v. 138, 140, 159.
- Vane, sir Henry, i. 238, 514, 247, 314, 339, 456. ii. 573. iii. 156. iv. 248, 249. *W.* i. 247. iii. 568. notice of him, i. 216. made secretary in the room of sir J. Coke, through the queen and the marquis Hamilton, 222. his declaration concerning the proposed supply in the house of commons, 244. misrepresents the proceedings to the king, 245. and thereby increased the differences between the king and parliament, by being the cause of its dissolution, 1640. 516. what his motives might be, 245, 517. an implacable enemy to the earl of Strafford, *ib.* iii. 568. one of the council of state, i. 264. one of the counsellors about the king at York, 280. his part in the earl of Strafford's trial, 392, 393, 397, 398, 401, 403. one of the committee of the house of commons to sit during the recess, ii. 10. why he gave himself up to the factious party, 59. deprived of the secretaryship, 63. notice of his character and conduct, iii. 566, 567. he died despised by his son, who had been his chief conductor to destruction, 568.
- Vane, sir Henry, the younger, i. 325. v. 89. vii. 373, 375. his character, education, and early life, i. 326. iv. 291. the mischief he did in New England, i. 327. what circumstance made him join the factious party, 328. one of the leading men in the house of commons, 347, *n.* his part in the earl of Strafford's trial, 399, 401, 402. was for root and branch as it was termed, 410. his father died condemned by him, to whose destruction he was the chief conductor, 568. one of the commissioners sent by parliament into Scotland for relief, iv. 153. chiefly instrumental in establishing the covenant between England and Scotland in favour of presbyterianism, 290, *n.* 291, 297, 298. his object, 298. one of the committee who attended the earl of Manchester's army, 466. hated of all men by the

INDEX.

- earl of Essex, 525. lord Roberts in great conjunction with him, *ib.* the Scotch commissioners jealous of him, v. 15. he and Cromwell were leaders of the independents, 16, 345. takes care to have men of his own principles put into the government of the city of London, 17. his speech proposing the self-denying ordinance, 21. one of the parliament commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, 36. he, Saint-John, and Prideaux acted as spies on the rest, 69. withdraws with the speaker of the commons to the army, 461, 463. the marquis of Argyle made a fast friendship with him and Cromwell, vi. 8. being a commissioner in the personal treaty at Newport, he uses all his arts to obstruct and delay it, 110. the only one that did not desire a peace, 155. his speech upon the commissioners' report, 199. thinks Cromwell's power too much, vii. 3. reproached by him with a breach of faith and corruption, 7. his conduct upon Cromwell's violent dissolution of parliament, 34. readmitted into parliament by virtue of a clause in the humble petition's advice, 219. he and Haslerig govern the parliament, 1659. 369. farther notice of him and his views, 373, 374. Lawson one of his dependents, 389. confined to his house by parliament for having concurred with the committee of safety, 393.
- Van Trump, his fleet worsted by Blake, vi. 598, 599. comes to sea with another fleet, vii. 23. is beaten and slain, *ib.*
- Varney, — (see Verney.)
- Vavasour, sir Charles, iv. 448.
- Vavasour, sir William, taken prisoner at the battle of Edgehill, iii. 292. commanded the forces in South Wales, iv. 181, 195, *n.* assisted at the siege of Gloucester, 181.
- Vaughan, baron, (see earl of Carbery.)
- Vaughan, sir George, wounded in the battle of Lansdown, iv. 125.
- Vaughan, sir William, killed in the battle of Rathmines, viii. 98.
- Udall, sir William, one of those who carried the king's message of peace to parliament, iii. 206, 621.
- Venables, colonel, viii. 94.
- Venables, general, commanded the land army sent by Cromwell with Pen's fleet, vii. 172, 176. unsuccessful at Hispaniola, 177. succeeds at Jamaica, 178. he and Pen committed to the Tower by Cromwell, 179.
- Venn, captain, ii. 91. iii. 391. one of the committee of the house of commons appointed to sit during the recess, ii. 10. was member for the city of London, 91. led those men that went tumultuously to Westminster and Whitehall, at the time that the bill against the earl of Strafford was debated, *ib.* iii. 616. charged with high treason by the king, iii. 618.
- Vere, Horatio lord, i. 250. iv. 563. vi. 234. vii. 380.
- Vere, lady, two of the children of Charles I. intrusted to her care by parliament, v. 453. removed from her, and placed with the earl of Northumberland, *ib.*
- Vere, Anne, married sir T. Fairfax, vi. 234. (see lady Fairfax.)
- Vere, Susan, married the earl of

Montgomery and Pembroke, i. 104.
 Verney, or Varney, sir Edmund, or Edward, knight marshal, *W.* iii. 289. Charles I.'s standard-bearer at Nottingham, iii. 190. bore the standard at the battle of Edge-hill, 274, 286, *n.* where he was killed, 279, 286, *n.* 287. notice of him, 286, *n.* 289.
 Vic, sir Henry de, the king's resident at Brussels, vi. 477. vii. 235.
 Vieu Ville, marquis of, fell in the conflict at Awborne chase, serving as a volunteer to Charles I. having attended the queen out of Holland, iv. 233.
 Villa Magna, marquis of, vi. 381.
 Villiers, family of, its extraction, i. 16.
 Villiers Edward, carried Charles I.'s despatches to the fleet, iii. 110, 111, 587, 588, 168.
 Villiers, lord Francis, notice of, vi. 6. he, with his brother the duke of Bucks, and others, rise for Charles II. *ib.* at Kingston, 95. he is killed there, 97.
 Villiers, sir George, father of the great duke of Buckingham, notice of his marriages and offspring, i. 16. anecdote of the appearance of his ghost, predicting his son's death, 74.
 Villiers, George, (see duke of Buckingham.)
 Vines — notice of him, v. 52. one of the parliament commissioners in ecclesiastical matters to treat at Uxbridge, *ib.*
 Virole, president, vii. 355.
 Virginia delivered up to the parliament forces, 1653. vi. 611.
 Universities, the two, contribute their money and plate to Charles I. iii. 246.
 Vote, passed in the house of

commons against the court of York, i. 418. concurred in by the lords, 421. three hundred thousand pounds voted to the Scotch army for a gratuity besides their monthly allowance, 466. votes of both houses concerning the militia, ii. 268, 292. the king's answer to the parliament's declaration and votes concerning Hull, 389. the votes at which the king took exception, 471. the votes of both houses for raising an army, iii. 122. for procuring money, 243. the commons vote a new broad seal, the lords concurred with them, iv. 339. vote of no more addresses to the king, &c. v. 513. seconded by a declaration, 515. the vote of no more addresses repealed, vi. 109. the parliament's votes upon the king's propositions offered at the treaty of Newport, 181. votes of the commons upon the king's being removed from Carisbrook castle to Hurst castle, 203. vote, "that the king's answer was a ground for peace," 205. many members being seized by the soldiers, the remaining members vote the contrary to former votes, 206. vote, "that those who were absent at the negative vote should sit no more in the house," 207. vote of no more addresses renewed, *ib.* the protestation of the secluded members voted against by both houses, 208. votes of the house of commons for settling the government, 209. vote against the office of kingship, 246. votes of the parliament upon the address of a new council of officers to the protector Richard, vii. 309. they

I N D E X.

- pass a vote to have no more general officers, 368.
- Vow, (see Covenant.)
- Vowel, — tried before a high court of justice for holding correspondence with Charles Stuart, vii. 28. condemned, 29. executed at Charing-cross, *ib.* his magnanimous behaviour, *ib.*
- Urban VIII. pope, i. 27.
- Urry, colonel, sir William, iv. 589. having served in the parliament army at the battle of Edge-hill, he goes over to the king, finding himself not so well regarded as he expected, iv. 80, *n.* 82. and undertakes to guide prince Rupert to the enemy's quarters, *ib.* knighted by the king for his success, 81, *n.* 86. notice of him, 86. deserts back again to the parliament, and discovers all he knew of the king's army, 581. being taken among the marquis of Mountrose's officers he is executed, vi. 421. palliation of his tergiversations, iv. 589. severely censured by bishop Warburton, *W. in loc.*
- Usher, colonel, killed in the siege of Litchfield cathedral, iv. 35.
- Usher, James, archbishop of Armagh, iv. 277.
- Uxbridge, particulars of the treaty of, v. 36—80. without effect, 80. (see Charles I. or Parliament.)
- V.
- Wagstaffe, colonel, sir Joseph, v. 263. wounded at the siege of Litchfield cathedral, iv. 35. assisted at the siege of Bristol, 144. sent to Taunton, v. 148. attends the earl of Rochester into England to aid any rising in favour of Charles II. vii. 135. goes into the west for that purpose, 138. notice of him, 139. assists at the rising of Salisbury, *ib.* dissuaded from hanging the parliament judges, which were in the town, 140. perhaps injudiciously, *ib.* escaped abroad again upon failure of this enterprise, 143.
- Wainman, captain Samuel, notice of, iv. 559. killed in the pursuit of Balfour, *ib.*
- Wainman, (Wenman,) Thomas lord, one of the parliament commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, v. 36.
- Wake, Baldwin, v. 319.
- Wake, captain, by the king's command refuses to obey the earl of Warwick as admiral, iii. 114.
- Wales, prince of, (see Charles I. and II.)
- Walker, Clement, one of the prosecutors of colonel Fiennes, iv. 344. *W. in loc.*
- Walker, sir Edward, garter king at arms, and secretary to the council of war, iv. 505, 506. *W. iv.* 587. v. 174, 222, 301. removed from Charles II. when in Scotland, vi. 438. the actions in the campaigns of 1644—5. are taken by lord Clarendon chiefly from his discourses, *W. iv.* 447, 582. v. 476.
- Wall, — i. 526.
- Waller, — iv. 205. a design discovered in London by which he, Mr. Tomkins, and others, meant to benefit the king, iv. 57. the real project, 61. a vow and covenant taken by parliament on its discovery, 71. and throughout the city and army, 74. he is banished in consequence, 79.
- Waller, sir Hardress, iii. 477. iv. 423, *n.* v. 273.
- Waller, sir William, iii. 227, 278,

INDEX.

483. *iv.* 28, 95, *n.* 114, 138, 140, 185, 190, 205, 228, 237, 258, 289, 345, 395, 425, *n.* 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 454, 455, 456, 458, 459, 468, 469, 474, 475, *n.* 476, 488, 503, 506, 507, 523, 530, *n.* 539, 541, 542, 549, 552, 567, 571, 574, 575, 577, 582. *v.* 10, 19, 83, 123, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 147, 172, 173, 185, 444. sent by the parliament against Portsmouth, *iii.* 172, 180, 607, 192, *n.* takes Chichester, 415, 416. surprises and routs Lord Herbert's little army, 466, 467. takes Hereford and Tewkesbury, both which he presently left, 468. takes Hereford, *iv.* 29. comes before Worcester, and is repulsed, *ib.* sent into the west, 105, 107, 108, 113, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121. some account of him, 113. called by his party William the Conqueror, 114. worsted at the battle of Lansdown, 122, 124, 605, 606. his farther movements, 126—131. routed at Roundway-down, 133 — 135, 608, 609. an enmity in consequence between him and the earl of Essex, 136. made governor of the forces and militia in London, 189. retakes Arundel castle, which had been taken by lord Hopton, 457. has the advantage over him at the battle of Alresford, 426, *n.* 460. his movements against Abingdon and Oxford, 476, *n.* 478. —487. marches towards Worcester after the king, 489, 499. worsted in the fight at Cropredy bridge, 500. his part in the second battle of Newbury, 583. opposed the self-denying ordinance, *v.* 89. deprived of

his commission by it, 124, 132, 151. one of the leading men in the house of commons, 454. his being made lord lieutenant of Ireland opposed by Cromwell, *vi.* 4, 346. imprisoned by the commons, 208. one of those who conferred at Northumberland house about the restoration of Charles II. *vii.* 440.

Walpole, Horace, *W.* *iv.* 241.

Walsh, sir Robert, lord Colepepper's quarrel with, *vi.* 127, 129, 130.

Walsingham, — *vii.* 61.

Walton — taken prisoner in the rencounter near Worcester, *iii.* 626. one of the seven commissioners appointed by parliament to govern the army, *vii.* 370. he, Haslerig, and Morley go to Portsmouth, which declares for the parliament against the army, 376.

Wansford, sir Rowland, deputy of Ireland, *ii.* 585, 588.

War with Spain, why declared by parliament, *i.* 38. war declared with France, 46. war with France and Spain prejudicial to England, 69—73. the levying of war in England, from what day to be dated, *ii.* 170. origin of the Dutch war with the English republic, *vi.* 598.

Warbeck, Perkin, *ii.* 535. *iii.* 31.

Warburton, William, bishop of Gloucester, his view of the intentions of Charles I. *W.* *i.* 8. his bad opinion of the duke of Buckingham, 73. what fallacy, according to him runs through Clarendon's History, *ib.* his opinion of queen Elizabeth's reign, 132. considers the king's not securing the earl of Essex an instance of his want of abilities

I N D E X.

to govern, 217. his bad opinion of lord Holland, 221, 478. ii. 2, 327. iii. 144, 485. considers the taking the earl of Strafford away from Ireland a fatal step. i. 254, 265. what clause should in his opinion have been inserted in the bill allowing the parliament to dissolve itself, and why, 459. considers that the king should have risked any thing rather than have signed this bill, 475. his remark as to the king's countenancing the Irish rebellion, ii. 23. as to his ungraciousness of manner, 35. his reason why the bishops do not constitute a distinct estate in parliament, 119. his remark on the question, which party began the war, *W.* iii. 151. his opinion of the feelings of the earl of Essex, and of the king's friends after the battle of Edge-hill, 299. considers the ill success of the king's arms to be chiefly owing to prince Rupert, 327. his encomium of lord Clarendon's virtue and integrity, 549. and of his qualification as a historian, 587. iv. 314. his observations on the king's overtures of peace, iv. 19, 53. and on Hambden's character, 95. considers the court to have been exceedingly tyrannical, 113. and abandoned, vi. 82. his views of the objects of the king and parliament, iv. 327. considers the king's conduct throughout, with respect to Ireland, to be free from blame, although not in accordance with his professions, 362. his bad opinion of duke Hamilton and his brother, 431. his explanation of the factions among the parliament com-

manders, before the self-denying ordinance, and the union of the new commanders afterwards, 524. his opinion against the divine right of episcopacy, v. 56. vi. 168. in favour of the dissolution of a coronation oath, v. 56. and of an alienation of church-lands, *ib.* his opinion as to the difference of the political views of the presbyterians and independents, 354. his remark on the king's refusal to extirpate episcopacy in England, when he had allowed it in Scotland, 408. his opinion of the influence of an army in all revolutions, vi. 41. his observation on Clarendon's character of Charles I. 240.

Wards, court of, odious to the nobility and gentry, although an unquestionable regal right, i. 268.

Ware, colonel, iv. 106.

Ware, sir James, iv. 393. viii. 59.

Warneford, — iii. 417.

Warren, Henry, notice of, vii. 380.

Warreston, — vii. 375.

Warwick, Robert Rich, second earl of, i. 486, 487. ii. 606. iii. 99, *n.* 100, 103, 106, 107, 108, 110, 590, 127, 131, 607, 618, 265. iv. 19. v. 131. vi. 24, 38, 70. a great patron of the puritans, i. 319. yet shewed no aversion from episcopacy, 409. concurred in the prosecution of archbishop Laud and the earl of Strafford, 321. sworn a privy counsellor, 341. one of the governing voices in the house of lords, 347, *n.* how far trusted, 348, *n.* made warden of the cinque ports, 481, 482. one of the committee of the house of lords to sit during the recess,

ii. 9. appointed vice-admiral of the fleet without the king's consent, 335—337. ordered by the parliament to transport the magazine from Hull to London, 356. appointed by the parliament lord high admiral, upon the king's revocation of the earl of Northumberland's commission, iii. 113, 588. appointed to command an army, but gave up his commission upon the parliament's after-resolution that the earl of Essex should be the only general, 335. his character, 560. attempts with his fleet the relief of Exeter, but does not succeed, iv. 215. his patent of lord high admiral, the first thing sealed with the parliament's new broad seal, 341. one of the few peers who attended parliament, 1643. 403, 630. has great influence in Essex, 464. one of those recommended to the king to be intrusted with the power of the militia for a certain time, v. 78. his cruel treatment of Irish captives, 121. he and the earl of Manchester were the two pillars of the presbyterian party, 464. they and others withdraw from the parliament to the army, *ib.* promised to aid the earl of Holland in his rising in favour of Charles II. vi. 5. and why, 23. the parliament prepare a fleet under him against the revolted fleet, 69. the prince of Wales writes to him, *ib.* his answer, *ib.* the prince went to sea towards Holland, after having attempted to fight him, 71. he follows him, *ib.* comes upon the coast of Holland, 133. unable to save the life of his brother, the

earl of Holland, 257. his part in the inauguration of Cromwell as protector, vii. 209. his death, 291. much lamented by Cromwell, who was his fast friend, *ib.*

Warwick, Charles Rich, fourth earl of, one of the committee sent by parliament to wait on Charles II. at the Hague, vii. 499.

Washington, colonel, his part in the siege of Bristol, iv. 144.

Watches, the house of lords direct a writ to be issued out to appoint them, ii. 87. the commons discharge them, 88.

Waterford defence of, provided for by the lord lieutenant of Ireland, viii. 111. Cromwell obliged to raise the siege, 112. unseasonable obstinacy of the citizens, 115.

Watson, — v. 498, 514.

Web, — v. 30.

Web, colonel William, iv. 554, 556. (as major general) v. 273, 321.

Weemes, or Wemmes, — much obliged by Charles I. iv. 503. yet sides with the parliament, *ib.* taken prisoner in the fight at Cropredy-bridge, *ib.* commanded the artillery in the Scotch army of Charles II. vi. 489. was a confessed good officer, *ib.*

Wenman, (see Wainman.)

Wentworth, — iii. 12.

Wentworth, George, iv. 393.

Wentworth, colonel Henry, iii. 266.

Wentworth, Thomas lord, v. 159, n. 257, 258, 261, 263, 273, 274. vi. 562. joined colonel Goring at Portsmouth upon his declaring for Charles I. iii. 191, n. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-

INDEX.

- council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 632. sent by lord Goring to the prince of Wales with certain demands, v. 236. which he is persuaded not to deliver, 237. not willing to give up the command devolved to him by lord Goring, 271, 272, 275, 303. his horse beaten at Ashburton, 281. appointed to command the horse, lord Hopton being made general of the remains of the western army, 306, 308. he submits to this charge, contrary to expectation, 307, 309. sent with others from France by the queen to convey the prince of Wales thither from Jersey, 382, 398. how far concerned in the factions in the prince's fleet, vi. 63. resolved to attend Charles II. into Scotland, 403. had the command of the regiment of guards raised by the king from his subjects in Flanders, vii. 224.
- Wentworth, (see earl of Strafford.)
- West, Charles I.'s affairs there, iv. 95, 211, 315. state of the western counties when the prince of Wales went to Bristol, v. 135. the affairs of the west about the time of the battle of Naseby, 187, 303. designs in the west upon Plymouth and Exeter in favour of Charles II. vii. 323.
- Westfield, Thomas, made bishop of Bristol, ii. 25.
- Westmeath, Robert Nugent, second earl of, viii. 71, 164, 169.
- Westminster, tumults about, i. 449, 86, 90. distractions there upon notice of the army's coming towards London, v. 440.
- Westmoreland, Mildmay Fane, second earl of, one of those who signed the declaration, that Charles I. had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. put under restraint by parliament for his loyalty, iv. 630.
- Weston, sir Richard, afterwards made earl of Portland, i. 81. 463. *W.* i. 11. advised the dissolution of the third parliament of Charles I. i. 10. to escape impeachment, *ib.* what effect the public odium had upon him, *ib.* why such advice was not to have been expected from him, 11. made lord treasurer through the duke of Buckingham, 84, 87. whom he so much dis-oblinded, that he probably would have been removed from that post had the duke lived, 84. his rise, *ib.* first sent as ambassador into Flanders, 85. his character, 87. suspected of favouring the Roman religion, 89. yet never trusted by the catholics, *ib.* against whom he enforced the penal laws, 90. his debts twice paid by the king, 90. *W. in loc.* who also gave him Chute forest in Hampshire, 90. a ridiculous anecdote respecting him and Mr. Cæsar, 92. honours conferred upon him, 95. why the earl of Holland made continual war upon him, 112, 265. tries in vain to undermine archbishop Laud's influence with the king, 173. his death, 95, 173.
- Weston, Thomas, iii. 191, 2.
- Wexford besieged by Cromwell, viii. 105. betrayed by the governor of the castle, *ib.* the garrison basely murdered, *ib.*
- Weymouth surrendered to the

INDEX.

- king's forces, *iv.* 213. delivered to the earl of Essex, 497. surprised by the king's party, *v.* 67. lost again through lord Goring's neglect, 82, 139.
- Whaley, colonel, *W.* *vi.* 254. notice of his rough nature, *v.* 486. commanded the guards who had the custody of the king at Hampton-court, *ib.* opposed Cromwell's being made king, *vii.* 196. he, Ingoldsby, and Goffe advise the protector Richard not to dissolve the parliament, and promise to support him against the new council of officers, 310. are imprisoned by that council in consequence, 312.
- Wharton, Philip lord, *ii.* 420. *iii.* 471. *vi.* 193. one of the commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, *i.* 274. concurred in the prosecution of archbishop Laud and the earl of Strafford, 321. whom he supported in the house of lords, 347, *n.* one of the committee of the house of lords to sit during the recess, *ii.* 9. was at the battle of Edge-hill, *iii.* 272. carried the intelligence of it to the house of lords, 301. one of the few lords who attended parliament, 1643. *iv.* 403, 630.
- Wharton, sir Thomas, *iv.* 383.
- Wheeler, ——— intruded himself about the prince of Wales, *v.* 201, *n.* accused of beastliness, *ib.* forbid to come to court, *ib.* his accusation of sir H. Windham, 202, *n.* how settled, *ib.* how far the chancellor was concerned in these affairs, *ib.*
- Whetcomb, Tristram, *ii.* 275, 276, 304, 457.
- Whetham, colonel, governor of Portsmouth, received Haslerig, Walton, and Morley there, *vii.* 376. and declared for the parliament against the army, 377.
- Whitaker, Laurence, *i.* 308.
- Whitchcot, colonel, governor of Windsor castle, would not allow king Charles to be buried according to the form of the Common Prayer Book, *vi.* 242.
- White, ——— a grave lawyer, notoriously disaffected to the church, *i.* 348. chairman of the committee of the commons about religion, *ib.*
- White, ——— servant to Charles I. *iii.* 330.
- White, ——— a Roman catholic priest, particulars respecting his death, *viii.* 167, 169, 170.
- White, (see Whyte.)
- Whitehead, colonel, present with the parliament troops at the siege of Basing-house, *iv.* 552.
- Whitford, colonel, one of the marquis of Mountrose's officers, *vi.* 421. why not executed with the rest, *ib.* had joined in the murder of Charles I. *ib.*
- Whitlock, Bulstrode, *W.* *ii.* 34, *v.* 179, 343. *vi.* 254. *vii.* 2, 120, 490. one of the parliament commissioners to treat with the king at Oxford, *iii.* 486, 528. and to treat at Uxbridge, *v.* 36. reason for his adhering to the parliament, 76. was in favour of the self-denying ordinance, 90. his part in the inauguration of Cromwell as protector, *vii.* 209. the committee of safety make him keeper of their great seal, 375. his opinion of lord Coventry at variance with that of lord Clarendon; according to bishop Warburton, the latter was the better judge, *W.* *i.* 82.

INDEX.

Whyte, — sir Robert Sydney's agent, *W.* i. 105.

Wibrant, Daniel, iv. 373.

Wichwyeh, sir Péter, controller of the king's household, one of those who signed the declaration, that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. had been ambassador at Constantinople, 550. notice of him, 551. died very shortly after the treaty at Oxford, *ib.*

Widrington, (see Withrington.)

Wight, Isle of, (see Newport.)

Wild, sergeant, the parliament request of the king to make him chief baron of the exchequer, iii. 407. one of the commissioners to whom the parliament intrusted their new broad seal, iv. 340. he chiefly having averred their legal power to make one, *ib.* made chief baron of the exchequer by the parliament, v. 511. presided at the trial of captain Burly, condemned for stirring up the people of the Isle of Wight in favour of Charles I. *ib.* his instructions to the grand jury to acquit Rolph, charged with a design on the king's life, vi. 198.

Wildman, John, a leveller, an account of, vii. 41. signed the anabaptists' address to Charles II. 266.

Wilkins, — *W.* v. 483.

Wilks, colonel, one of the commissioners appointed by Monk to treat with the officers of the army at London, vii. 379. imprisoned by him for having consented to something contrary to his instructions, 387.

William of Wickham, founder of New college, Oxford, iii. 565.

Williams, John, bishop of Lincoln, afterwards archbishop of

York, i. 13, 19, 534. ii. 9, 90.

W. i. 81. ii. 9. unfit for the keepership of the great seal, i. 81. removed however from it owing to the displeasure of the duke of Buckingham, *ib.* takes the lead against archbishop Laud's alterations with respect to the communion-table and other ecclesiastical matters, i. 171. ii. 104. observation respecting his treatise, Holy Altar, name and thing, i. 171. *W.* in *loc.* bishop Warburton's favourable opinion of it, *W.* ii. 104. proposes in the house of lords, that the bishops might be excused from attending the earl of Strafford's trial, i. 380. ii. 111. notice of his being made archbishop of York, i. 534. his ignominious advice to the king to sign the bill condemning the earl for treason, ii. 111, 451. would probably have been murdered by the mob about the house of peers, if he had not been rescued, ii. 90, 113. an unfavourable account of him, 102. notice of his imprisonment by the star-chamber, 105. censure of certain points of his conduct, 109. bishop Warburton's vindication of him, *W.* in *loc.* his insolent conduct after he was made archbishop of York, 112. the bill against the bishops received in the commons out of hatred to him, 113. he advises the bishops to protest against the legality of the proceedings of the house of lords during their constrained absence, *ib.* copy of the protest drawn up by him, 114, 116.

Williamson, don Henrique, afterwards called Rosewell, the

I N D E X.

- resident of Denmark at Madrid, notice of, vi. 376, *n*.
- Willis, sir Richard, governor of Newark, v. 295. why the king resolved to remove him from this charge, 297. his resistance to this intention, 298. ordered by the king never to come into his presence again in consequence of his behaviour, 299. a petition and remonstrance in his favour by several officers, 300. discovery of his treachery in betraying the plans for the restoration of Charles II. vii. 324. *W*. vii. 243. his character, 326. bishop Warburton's observation on the cause that led him to this treachery, *W*. vii. 327.
- Willoughby, Francis, iv. 393.
- Willoughby, Mountague Bertie, lord, afterwards second earl of Lindsey, vi. 244. one of those who signed the declaration, that the king had no intentions of war, iii. 72, 571. had served in Holland, 251, *n*. commanded the king's guards in the battle of Edge-hill, *ib*. 274. taken prisoner in endeavouring to rescue his father, 279, 633, 292. (as earl of Lindsey,) one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of peace in Scotland, iv. 632. was at the battle of Naseby, v. 181. one of those the king desired of parliament might attend him in the Isle of Wight, vi. 108. present at his funeral, 241.
- Willoughby of Parham, Francis lord, vi. 134. executes the ordinance of the militia in Lincolnshire, iii. 121. urged the earl of Essex to pursue the king after the battle of Edge-hill, *W*. ii. 299. one of the few lords who attended parliament, 1643. iv. 403, 630. was of great esteem amongst the presbyterians, though not tainted with their principles, vi. 35. left the parliament and went to Holland, *ib*. appointed by the duke of York his vice-admiral, *ib*. 36. retained the post out of duty to the king against his inclination, 138. succeeded by prince Rupert, 148, 149. removed by parliament from the government of Barbadoes, 610. a design of surprising Lynne by him and sir H. Townsend, vii. 322. both apprehended before they effected it, 332.
- Wilmot, Henry, afterwards lord, and subsequently earl of Rochester, i. 385. iii. 160, 593, 161, 188, *n*. 190. iv. 28, 230. vi. 544, 579. *W*. i. 428. taken prisoner in the rout at Newburn, i. 278. restored to the king by the Scotch commissioners, 279. very indevoted towards the earl of Strafford, *ib*. how far concerned in the correspondence between the court and the army, 470, 471. ii. 4, 458. imprisoned in consequence, 535. made commissary general of the king's horse, iii. 610. want of courage imputed to him, 188, *n*. 190. iv. 259. wounded in the rencounter near Worcester, iii. 235, 236, 625. commanded the left wing of horse at the battle of Edge-hill, 274, 631, 278, 634. prince Rupert irreconcilably prejudiced against him, 320, *n*. iv. 138, 472. was not fast in the king's favour, iii. 320, *n*. iv. 138. and why, iv. 527. made lieutenant gene-

INDEX.

ral, iii. 339. takes Marlborough, which had been garrisoned by the parliament, 340—342. routs sir W. Waller at Roundway-down, iv. 132—135, 138, 608—610. retires to Oxford to attend the king, 140. one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, 632. much consulted by the king on military affairs, iv. 471. his character, 472, 527. v. 2. loved debauchery, *ib.* his hostility against the secretary of state and master of the rolls, (lord Digby and sir J. Colepepper,) 473, 498. charged with ill-humour and negligence in not beating up the enemy's quarters, 479, 480. advises that the king should march towards London, 498. why he urged peace, 527, 528. arrested for high treason, 529. by lord Digby's contrivance, according to bishop Warburton, *W.* iv. 532. against the wishes of the army, iv. 532, 533. upon lord Goring's being put in command over him, he obtains leave to retire into France, 533. notice of his having been made a lord through the queen's interest, v. 100, *n.* sent with others from France by the queen, to bring the prince of Wales thither out of France, 382. how far concerned in the factions in the prince of Wales's fleet, vi. 63. resolved to attend Charles II. into Scotland, 403. assists him to escape out of England after the battle of Worcester, 524—529, 532—536, 539—541. one of the king's new council, 561. solicits the king to make him an

earl, 588. who makes him earl of Rochester, and sends him to the diet at Ratisbon, vii. 51, 52. his return, 105. obtains leave of the king to go into England to aid a rising in his favour, 134. he designs for the north, 137, 138. his ill success, 145. an accident that befell him in his return to London, 146. deceived by Manning, 150—154. has the command of one of the four regiments raised by the king from his subjects in Flanders, 224.

Wimbledon, Edward Cecil, viscount, murmurs against him for the failure at Cadiz, i. 70. had been a soldier in Holland, *ib.*

Winchester taken by Cromwell, v. 337.

Winchester, John Paulet, fifth marquis of, commanded a garrison in Basing-house, his seat, iv. 551. relieved from a siege by colonel Gage, 552. again besieged and relieved, 593.

Winchester, Honora de Burgh, marchioness of, iv. 552.

Windebank, Winnebank, Christopher, son of sir Francis, bred at Magdalen college, Oxford, vi. 382, *n.* sent into Spain, *ib.* reduced to poverty by marriage, *ib.* changed his religion, *ib.* useful to Charles II.'s ambassadors there, *ib.*

Windebank, sir Francis, secretary of state, i. 371, 393. ii. 54. *W.* i. 312, 314. one of the committee of state, i. 264. being accused by the house of commons, withdrew beyond sea, 311, 529. anecdote concerning him and a priest, 312, 527. he lay under the reproach of favouring the catholics, 526.

- Windham, colonel Edmund, v. 147, 195, 197. accompanied the marquis of Hertford into the west, iii. 181. high sheriff of Somersetshire, iv. 111. made governor of Bridgewater, *ib.* notice of him, *ib.* 573. the blockade of Taunton intrusted to him, 573. v. 138. which he is forced to raise, v. 138, 195. particulars of his design of being made secretary of state, vi. 335—338. the king chiefly diverted from appointing him by lord Cottington's ingenious story, 339.
- Windham, colonel Francis, prevailed on Mr. Lutterel, owner of Dunstar castle, to deliver it up to the king, iv. 110. is made governor of it, *ib.* which he surrendered upon fair conditions at the end of the war, vi. 533. notice of him, *ib.* assisted Charles II. in his escape out of England after the battle of Worcester, 533—535, 539.
- Windham, sir Hugh, concerned in the complaint against Wheeler, v. 201, *n.* 202, *n.*
- Windham, Mrs. Charles II.'s nurse, v. 153. diverted him from business, and prejudiced him against his council, *ib.* her object, 154.
- Wingate, captain, member of the house of commons, taken prisoner in the rencounter near Worcester, iii. 236.
- Winnebank, (see Windebank.)
- Winniff, Thomas, made bishop of Lincoln, ii. 25.
- Winter, John, ii. 187.
- Wise, — mayord of Gloucester, iv. 179.
- Wishart, Dr. vi. 288.
- Wit, (see De Wit.)
- Withrington, William, lord, one of the lords who signed the letter to the privy-council and conservators of the peace in Scotland, iv. 633. goes with the earl of Derby to support Charles II.'s cause in Derbyshire, vi. 497. killed in the fight at Wigan, 503. his character, 504. had been a member of the house of commons, 505. had quitted the kingdom with the marquis of Newcastle, *ib.* and had returned to Scotland with Charles II. *ib.*
- Withrington, sir Thomas, *W.* ii. 34. speaker of the house of commons, 1657. vii. 205. his part in the inauguration of Cromwell as protector, vii. 209.
- Wogan, captain, was, when a youth, engaged in the parliament service, vii. 55. and was greatly in Ireton's friendship, *ib.* joined the marquis of Ormond in support of the king's cause in Ireland, 56. where he defended Duncannon against Cromwell, viii. 113. joins Middleton in his scheme for the king in Scotland, vii. 56. where he died in consequence of a wound, 58.
- Wolfe, father, viii. 28, *n.* raises a tumult in Limerick upon the lord lieutenant's approach, viii. 143. hanged by the English rebels upon the surrender of the town, 228.
- Wolfelte, Cornificus, ambassador extraordinary from Denmark at the Hague, encourages the marquis of Mountrose to go to Denmark for aid to the royal cause, vi. 315, 409. cause of his subsequent ruin, 315.
- Wolsey, cardinal, i. 396.
- Wood, sir Henry, the queen's treasurer, vi. 568.
- Worcester, a rencounter near there, wherein prince Rupert

INDEX.

- gets the better, iii. 235, 625. which proved of great advantage to the king, 236. sir W. Waller comes before it, but is repulsed, iv. 29. Charles II. defeated there by Cromwell, vi. 510.
- Worcester, Henry Somerset, first marquis of, iii. 463. generally reputed the greatest monied man in the kingdom, 464. why perhaps disposed to lend to the king, *ib.* garrisoned his house, Ragland-castle, v. 221. the king makes a short stay with him, *ib.* bravely defended it against Fairfax, 424. and surrendered on honourable conditions, *ib.*
- Worcester, second marquis of, (see lord Herbert.)
- Worrington, by Launceston in Devon, granted by Charles I. to sir Rd. Greenvil, v. 214.
- Wotten-Basset, Hyde, (lord Clarendon,) member of parliament for, 1640. i. 233, *n.*
- Wren, Matthew, bishop of Norwich, and afterwards of Ely, *W.* i. 137, 409. notice of him, i. 184. the Scotch liturgy and canons when framed were to be submitted to him, *abp.* Laud, and *bp.* Juxon, i. 184, 185, 191. complaints against him, 358. one of the bishops who signed the protestation against their constrained absence from the house of lords, ii. 116. proceeded passionately against the foreign artisans in the diocese of Norwich, to the injury of trade, iii. 365.
- Wright, sir Benj. vi. 360, 361, 362, 363. some account of, 365, and *n.*
- Wright, Rt. bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, one of the bishops who signed the protestation against their constrained absence from the house of lords, ii. 116.
- Wyat, sir Dudley, v. 315, 358, 368.
- Wych, (see Wich.)
- Wyndham, — a parliament officer wounded in the rencounter near Worcester, iii. 626. (see Windham.)
- Y.
- Yeomans, — alderman of Bristol, hanged for a correspondence with prince Rupert, iv. 57.
- York, an occurrence there, which was a sad presage of subsequent misfortunes, iii. 186. delivered up to the parliament forces, iv. 513.
- York, court of, a vote passed in parliament against, i. 418, 421.
- York, duke of, afterwards James II. iii. 157. v. 9. vi. 34, 332, 568, 617. vii. 71, 84, 99, 236, 277, 282, 324, 362, 451. viii. 213, *W.* vii. 301. sent to Hull by Charles I. and well received by sir J. Hotham, ii. 382, *n.* 383, 385. notice of his being installed knight of the garter, 610. he and the prince of Wales sent by the king out of the battle of Edge-hill, when it was doubtful, iii. 633, 280. signed the letter sent by the house of lords at Oxford to the earl of Essex, iv. 402. left by the king at Oxford, 485. v. 179. fell into the parliament's hands at the surrender of that place, 453, 471, *n.* and was committed to the care of the earl of Northumberland, *ib.* how treated by him, *ib.* the king's conversation with him at Hampton-court by leave of parliament, 472. who recommended him, if possible,

I N D E X.

to escape to Holland, *ib.* whether he escapes in woman's apparel by the assistance of Bamfield, vi. 18, 19. well received by the princess royal of Orange, his sister, 19. sir J. Berkley made his governor in the absence of lord Byron, 20. goes to the English fleet at Helvoetsluys, 33. appoints lord Willoughby of Parham his vice-admiral, 35. sent to the Hague by the prince of Wales, 36, 79. his condition there, and the factions among his followers, 126. had been instigated by Bamfield to be possessed of the government of the fleet, but was convinced with much ado, that it was neither safe for him nor his father's service, 139. particulars respecting him left with the queen, 471. sir E. Herbert and sir G. Ratcliff have great interest with him, 474. they recommend to him the pattern of the duke of Lorraine, *ib.* goes to Brussels in order to visit the duke, 476. his two counsellors propose a match for him with the duke's bastard daughter, 478. he visits his sister at the Hague, 479. the factions in his family at Breda, 483. he returns to Paris to the queen, 484. the necessities and factions of his family, 558. urged to enter into the French service, 559, 560. deliberations in the council whether he should enter, 566. the chancellor of the exchequer's opinion satis-

factory to all parties, 567. he goes into the army, *ib.* received with every respect by marshal Turenne, *ib.* his governor, lord Byron, dies, 588. he is pleased with war, *ib.* sir J. Berkley designs mademoiselle de Longueville for his wife, 589. he was not averse from marriage, but would not act without the king's and queen's consent, 590. cardinal Mazarine gives him notice that he must quit the French service, vii. 229. obtains of the king that sir H. Bennet should be sent envoy to Madrid, 235. leaves Paris, and goes to the king at Bruges, *ib.* charged several times on horseback at the battle of Dunkirk, 284. retired to Newport, 285. goes to Bologne, 330, 331. confers with Turenne, who offers assistance for any probable enterprise in England, 337. returns to Brussels, *ib.* the king of Spain offers to make him his admiral, 363, 314, *n.* which he accepts, 364, 394. as admiral he takes possession of the English fleet, which conveyed Charles II. to England, 498. ten thousand pounds sent him by the English parliament, 499. York, archbishop of, (see J. Williams.)

Z.

Zested, Hannibal, the Danish ambassador at Madrid lived there in extraordinary splendour, vi. 376, *n.*
Zouch, Edward lord, iii. 550.

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